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AN EARLY PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

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GREEK Papyrus 1570 of the University of Michigan Collection is a leaf of a papyrus book written on both sides. The preserved portion measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 inches (121 by 224 mm.). One entire line is lost at the bottom, and over half of each of the four lines immediately preceding. Of the top line only eight or nine letters are preserved. All other lines are somewhat damaged at one end or the other. Such loss often amounts to five or six letters. Eight lines in the middle of the leaf are damaged at both ends. Originally the size of the leaf must have been about 6 by 10 inches. There were 33 lines, which varied from 40 to 50 letters in length. The text covered is Matthew 26, 19 *συνέταξεν* to 26, 52 *ἀπολούνται*.

So large a papyrus fragment of Matthew's version of the Lord's last supper and betrayal is certain to be of special importance, as well for its content as for the bearing it has on the problem of the New Testament text.

The papyrus is written in letters more often showing cursive forms, yet not regularly linked; nor does the linking used obscure the forms of the letters. The fragment is easy to read and can be read with certainty except in a couple of cases.

The dating is not an easy matter, nor, I think, one that can be settled with absolute certainty. The papyrus belongs to the second half of the Roman period, that is, between 200 and 350 A.D. To me it seemed at first easily datable as late third century, and if only the general appearance of the hand is regarded, that would, I think, be the decision of most scholars. Further study, however, tends to confuse rather than to clarify the matter. Almost all the forms of letters used are cursive and the variety of

these is most confusing. Particularly, numerous forms of α , β , δ , ϵ , κ , π , ν , and ω occur. The forms found are used most often in cursive documents of the second and third centuries, though many continued through the first half of the fourth. Yet the three-stroke ξ , or even the two-stroke, would hardly be found in cursive writing after the first century A.D. Besides, the real cursive ξ is found but twice, once in line 3 of page 1 and once in line 1. In the latter case the letter is only half visible. These appear to be third-century forms. Against that use we have the three-stroke ξ in line 4 of page 1 and in lines 11 and 22 of page 2, while the two-stroke form is found in lines 22 and 24 of page 1, and apparently at the end of line 14.

The *upsilon* is equally puzzling. The most common form is a tailless, or nearly tailless, variety with curved tops. It does not extend below the line. But in lines 3 and 7 of page 1 ($\nu\mu\nu$ and $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$) is a form shaped like a modern y . In line 6 and later there is a more cursive type of this form, but only rarely used. These are common second-century forms, which occur also in the third century, but hardly later.

Omega is a little more helpful. The flat-bottomed *omega*, which is so characteristic of the second-century book-hand, occurs, as in lines 6 and 18 of page 2, but generally there is a slight curve or dot in the middle of the bottom of the letter. Even in cursive documents these forms are rare after the third century. The *omikron* is regularly small, sometimes only a dot, yet the large *omikron* occurs, especially for the article beginning a sentence; compare $\omicron\delta\epsilon$ of line 5, page 1. The *pi* made with a single stroke occurs, as in line 25, page 1, but generally there is a slight lip on the left leg, that makes it look like a two-stroke *pi*. Also the flat-topped *pi*, though probably not made with three strokes, occurs.

But it is useless to enumerate. Every letter seems to present most of its conceivable forms. Yet one does not get the impression of an imitative hand, and still less of an illiterate or crude hand. The writer of this papyrus was an educated man, but not a practised scribe. His writing was doubtless confined to letters, and from correspondence with his friends came his acquaintance with this great variety of forms of letters. The

real parallels to this type of hand will be found in the writing of educated authors, such as Schubart has made the first attempt to portray in his recent volume on palaeography in the *Ivan Müller Handbuch*, rather than in the productions of professional scribes. Thus we find the best parallels to our fragment in the correspondence of Heroninos, especially a letter by Kopres, *Papyri Greco-Egizi*, No. 208 (256 A.D.). A document in the *Amherst Papyri*, No. 72 (246 A.D.) also offers some good parallels. Among literary or semi-literary papyri, only *Brit. Mus.* 122, a magical treatise, can be compared, but that is distinctly more crude and therefore probably later. On the whole I have hardly got beyond my first impression of the date of the papyrus. I do not believe that it can be later than 300 A.D., but it may well have been written almost any time in the third century, though I incline to place it nearer the end.

There is some paragraphing or spacing, but originally there was no punctuation. There are no accents, but one rough breathing is found: *οὐ* line 8, page 1. Two dots are placed over *iota* rarely. Numerals have a stroke above them. *Κύριος* and *θεός* must have been abbreviated; *κε* line 5, page 1, is the only form occurring. The regular abbreviation *ἡς* occurs three times certainly, but also *τω ἡσν* and *μετα ἡσν*. There are no other abbreviations except *πνα* at the end of line 10, page 2. As I have just stated, no real punctuation occurs, but at the ends of certain phrases a dot or stroke appears above, apparently not by the first hand. The leaf is too fragmentary for one to be sure that these marks occurred regularly. They seem to be marks put in to assist in reading, and if so the book was probably once used in the church service. The dots are too irregular to represent *στίχοι*, if my reproduction of them is correct.

Textually the fragment seems of considerable importance. In the 26th chapter the variants are many and the chief classes of mss are well defined. In the portion of the text covered by the fragment 85 variants have been considered. Of these 16 fall in lacunae of the papyrus, but are made practically certain by the space. Others which could not be restored with a fair degree of certainty have been excluded from consideration.

Of these 85 variants I further exclude from the comparison 18, in which the papyrus is supported by so nearly all the mss and versions, that there can be no question of their correctness, even though in four of the 18 cases the Vaticanus alone, or with little support, opposes the papyrus. These readings of B are: verse 34, *απαρνησει*; 42, omit *λεγων*; 45, (*ιδου*) + *γαρ*; 51, *μετ αυτου* for *μετα ιησου*. Most of the remaining have slight Western support.

Furthermore in 11 cases the papyrus stands alone, as follows: verse 31, + *ταυτη (τη νυκτι ταυτη)*; 34, + *και (ο ιης)*; 38, + [δ]ε before *ωδε*; *εγρηγορειτε*; 40, *ισχυσαν* [. . .] for *ισχυσατε*; *εγρηγορησαι*; 41, *εγρηγορειτε*; *ελθητε* for *εισελθητε*; 49–50, omit by homoioteleuton *ειπεν* to *ειπεν*; 51, omit *των*; add three letters in the lacuna before *αρχιερεως*.

There remain 56 readings by which we may test the text affiliations of the papyrus with the chief ms. groups. For the purposes of this comparison I use the classification into four groups, Antiochian, Alexandrian, Western (= D, Old Lat., Old Syr., etc.), and Caesarean (= Θ, fam¹, fam¹³, 28, 700), as presented by Lake, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, pp. 270 ff., and accepted by Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London, 1924. In the case of the Western and Caesarean groups it is sometimes difficult to determine the relationship, if there is division within the group. Yet in spite of this limitation the relationship of the papyrus is clear, for it goes with Western practically alone seven times. Two of these fall in lacunae of the papyrus but are nevertheless certain restorations. In two cases the support, while Western only, is weak, in another we find strong Western plus a little Alexandrian, and in a fourth the Western has scattered Caesarean and Antiochian support. The readings and evidence are as follows:

34, – *εν*¹ = D a b c ff² h q fu armagh Chr.

39, *προελθων* for *προσελθων* = B M Π* 346 892 OL vg Sah Boh Syr Or Hil, to which may be added some from von Soden's list including the Purple mss and several from the Antiochian group.

42, – *μου*¹ = lect. 48 a c h Eus Chr Hil and 1295 1402 Ach noted by von Soden.

- 44, —[εκ τριτου] = A D K Y Π Φ 1 71 157 209 565 1574 1582 lect.184 a b r ff₂, to which von Soden adds 265 489 472 1219 1295 1346 1515 1574.
- 33, —αυτω¹ = 700 a b c ff₂ Syr^S and (349) 517 954 1424 1675 Chr reported by von Soden; also the Vulgate mss L and P.
- 21, —οτι = Syr^S and Λ 245 1402 1555 reported by von Soden.
- 42, —[απελθων] = 565; 33 and Boh transpose.

There seems to be one agreement with Alexandrian alone, but it is a first hand reading corrected by the second hand: 29, —του before γεννηματος = \aleph^* C L Φ 42 61 116 131* 157 433 485 1375 lect.44 Syr^S Arm Clem. A few others omit or transpose τουτου.

In one case also the papyrus agrees with Caesarean almost alone: 44, —παλιν¹ = U Θ Σ 1 57 69 114 118 124 209 700 1582 lect.22 36 a for san Syr^S.

There is no agreement with Antiochian alone except the first hand spelling εκχυνομενον in verse 28, which is corrected by the second hand.

The instances where the papyrus is supported by two of the groups are equally interesting. In four readings this support is given by Western and Antiochian as follows:

- 27, τ[ο ποτηριον] = all except \aleph B E F G L Z W Δ Θ Σ 1 13 28 33 118 209 346 517 and a few others. Though only the first letter is preserved in the papyrus, it is plainly τ and the space is sufficient for the remainder.
- 27, +[και] before ευχαριστησας = all except C L Z Δ Σ 1 33 118 157 209 252* 892 q Arm and a very few. The addition of three letters in the papyrus is required by the space. The omission of και may also be explained as an Alexandrian reading, which had influenced some Caesarean mss.
- 31, [διασκορπ]ισθησεται = D E F H² K S U V W Γ Δ Π and most minuscules, Or Eus.
- 42, omit ο ιησους after προσηυξατο = all except \aleph^a L 1 69 124 506 517 892 a and a few others with Arm. The

few others however include Θ and the rest of fam¹ and fam¹³, so that we may be sure that both the Caesarean and Alexandrian editions made this addition.

In three other readings the papyrus has Western and Alexandrian support:

26, [εὐλογ]ησας = \aleph B C D G L Z 24 33 114 237 241 253 259 OL vg Sah Boh Syr Arm Aeth.

23, transpose (την χειρα μετ' εμου) εν τω τριβλιω = \aleph A B L Z al⁵ OL vg Aeth Or (Syr^{Ssch}); cf. D Sah Boh.

28, μου της (omit το) = \aleph B D L Z Θ 33 544 Boh Syr^{sch} Cyr.¹

In two cases Western and Caesarean support the papyrus:

22, omit [αυτω] = D Θ 33 44 69 124 (346) 471 517 700 1.49 OL vg Boh Aeth Eus Or and fam¹⁴²⁴ by von Soden.

23, transpose την χειρα μετ' εμου = D Θ 700 (1606) Sah Boh Syr^S Syr^{hier}.

There are four readings in which the Papyrus is supported by Caesarean and Alexandrian:

28, omit καινης = \aleph B L Z Θ 33 (Boh) Cyr.

44, transpose ειπων παλιν = \aleph B L Θ 42 71 124 543 a Boh Syr.

45, omit αυτου after μαθητας = \aleph A B C K L M Y Δ Θ Π Σ Φ 1 13 69 124 157 346 700 q Sah Syr^p Arm.

52, μαχαιρη = \aleph A B* C* L N S Θ 21 33 124 1187 1223 1241 1295.

There are two somewhat doubtful cases in which Caesarean and Antiochian support may be claimed for the papyrus:

22, omit [εις] = A Γ Δ Π unc⁸ and most minuscules including fam¹ 28 700 Arm Syr^p Eus Chr.

48, ον εαν = \aleph A W Γ Δ Π Ω unc⁷ and many minuscules including 21 22 124 157 399 472 517 1391 Or Eus.

In the rest of the 56 readings under consideration the papyrus is supported by three of the ms. groups or editions. These

¹ This may perhaps be claimed for Caesarean also.

will be cited later, but we may use them here to complete our totals. With these additions we still find the Western text nearest to the papyrus, for it shows 41 agreements against 35 with Caesarean (a few doubtful), 33 with Alexandrian, and 23 with Antiochian.

It is evident that in the papyrus we have a specimen of an early text such as circulated especially in Egypt during the late second and early third centuries. That is the time when the great versions were being made, and from them we get the full-est picture of the second-century, or so-called Western, text.

The editions of various cities or provinces came later and agree with our papyrus only so far as they reproduce readings that were current in that earlier time. The value of these editions depends on the number of such older readings preserved. When an edition stands alone against the other groups and the papyrus, the reading is probably a later one or even an invention of the edition. The Antiochian text has 14 such, five of which fall in lacunae of the papyrus, but are quite certain, and only one is made doubtful by the addition of a little non-Antiochian support. The readings without the evidence are as follows: 26, [τον αρτον]; εδιδου . . . και; 29, [υμιν ουτι]; 33, ει και; εγω δε; 35, απαρνησωμαι; [ομοιως δε]; 38, αυτοις ο ιησους; 40, αυτοις (for τω πετρω); 42, τουτο το ποτηριον; παρελ[θειν απ εμου]; 43, transpose αυτους παλιν; [ευρισκει]; 52, αποθανουνται. The square brackets indicate lacunae in the papyrus.

The Alexandrian has six otherwise unsupported readings, as follows: 20, + [μαθητων]; 22, omit αυτων; 29, omit του or τουτου before γεννηματος (cf. Pap*); transpose καινον μεθ υμων; cf. fam¹; 36, γεθησθω; 45, omit το before λοιπον.

The Caesarean seems to have five such readings: 21, εσθιοντων δε; 23, ο δε ιησους; 28, omit γαρ; 39, omit μου after πατερ; 40, και¹ + αναστας απο της προσευχης.

The same system of comparison can hardly apply to the Western text because of the variations within the family, but it may be noted that at least five well-supported Western readings do not appear in the papyrus or any of the editions. This is not strange in spite of the Western affiliations of the papyrus, for its text arose in Egypt, while the Western is best represented

by Old Latin and Syriac. There must have been a provincial text in Egypt before the Alexandrian edition, and in the main its affiliations would have been with the other provincial texts of the time. The extensive accommodation of the Coptic translations to the Alexandrian has removed the best witness to this early text, which would, if preserved, be the nearest relative to the papyrus. The editions were based on selected mss of these provincial texts, so that many old readings must have been preserved in them. These naturally appear in the papyrus and entail a certain amount of relationship to the editions; but this could not be interpreted as indebtedness, even if the papyrus should be dated later. The Antiochian text shows the least relationship, because it was farthest removed both in place and time.

As the Caesarean edition is not yet as clearly reconstructed as the other two, it may be well to compare some of the mss and groups from which it is being restored. This may give a hint as to the purity of text in the different sources.

The papyrus differs from Θ 27 times. Of these, 11 are special variants of the papyrus, and three others have only moderate Western support. The remaining 13 should give some idea of the text of Θ . In four of the readings Θ is unsupported; three others are certainly Caesarean, though with other support in two cases; and two are perhaps Caesarean, as they are supported by fam¹³ and Western. Of the remaining four readings, three have Alexandrian support, to which Antiochian support is added in one case and Western in another. In one case Θ has only Antiochian support. It is dangerous to generalize on so scanty evidence, but it hardly seems likely that Θ presents a pure Caesarean text. A certain amount of accommodation to the Alexandrian text may be considered as proved. The survival of a small number of Western readings is probable, while slight Antiochian influence is possible, though hardly probable.

Fam¹ differs from the papyrus 32 times. Eliminating 11 cases where the papyrus stands alone and 5 in which the support is not overwhelming, there are left 16 readings, which should show the character of text in fam¹. Only one is a pure

Caesarean reading and four others have Caesarean support combined with other evidence. Four readings are accommodations to the Antiochian and two to the Alexandrian, while one seems a Western survival. Four are pure inventions of *fam*¹. Doubtless there is a certain amount of error in the reconstruction of *fam*¹, though I used the edition by Professor Lake in volume VII of *Texts and Studies*. But even making this allowance it seems clear that there was a definite revision to the Antiochian text and possibly a slight one to the Alexandrian.

The Ferrar Group (*fam*¹³) has 38 disagreements with the papyrus text. Eleven of these are individual readings of the papyrus, and four others show weak support for the papyrus reading. There are left 23 readings to show the character of *fam*¹³. One only is a pure Caesarean reading, but ten others have Caesarean support, though in four cases it is rather weak, and these may be Western survivals. In two other cases this explanation seems sure. There are nine accommodations to the Antiochian but none to the Alexandrian. Only one reading is supported by *fam*¹³ alone. The Abbott edition of the Ferrar Group is rather inadequate and in some cases I corrected it from von Soden's apparatus, but the accuracy of the picture of it hardly compares with that of *fam*¹. Making allowance for such errors it still seems clear that *fam*¹³ has suffered a decided revision to the Antiochian type, but none to the Alexandrian. The survival of Western readings is better supported here than in *fam*¹.

The results of this study may be summed up as follows: The papyrus has a text free from Antiochian, Alexandrian, and Caesarean revision. The Antiochian text is farthest removed. The Alexandrian text approaches the papyrus, where it reproduces the older Egyptian text. In like manner the Caesarean shows relationship because of its nearness to the Western. The real affiliations of the papyrus are with the Western text, which in the main represents the second-century text, varying somewhat in the different provinces of the Empire. It thus agrees best with the earliest translations and with the Church Fathers of the second and third centuries. The

lesson it teaches is clear: Concentrate study on the so-called Western text, which is really the second-century provincial text. The Antiochian, Alexandrian, and even the Caesarean text is valuable only in proportion as the earlier text is reproduced. Yet all these editions will serve as guides as well as warnings, for they were made on the basis of similar "Western" MSS, which are now lost. Only the unsupported readings of each edition can be absolutely rejected. Yet these are numerous enough to enable Westcott and Hort to overthrow the Antiochian text and thus the King James Version. Recent studies have treated the Alexandrian text and the Revised Version in similar manner. This papyrus fragment² supports both verdicts, and also warns us to expect little more from the Caesarean text. But if we may not follow blindly any of these ancient editions, the cumulative value of the evidence of even two of them must not be belittled. It is by comparison with these editions and with the early Church Fathers that we must judge the true text, which is preserved, though often obscurely, in the Western tradition.

GREEK PAPYRUS 1570: MATTHEW 26, 19-52

Page 1

19 σὺν]εταξεν αὐ[τοῖς ὁ ἰη̅ς καὶ ἡτοιμασαν τὸ πάσχα

20 ὁ]ψίας δὲ γενομένης αὐ[ε]κεῖτο μετὰ τῶν IB ²¹ [καὶ ἐσθιον
τ]ῶν αὐτῶν' εἶπεν αὐμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν' εἰς ἐξ ὑ[μῶν] πα

ρ]αδῶσει με' ²² καὶ λυπουμένοι σφοδρὰ' ἤρξαντο [λεγεῖν ἐκα

σ]τος αὐτῶν μητι ἐγὼ εἰμι κέ' ²³ ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθε[ῖς] εἶπεν ὁ ἐμ

β]αψας τὴν χεῖρα μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ' οὐτο[ς] με παραδῶσει

24 ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει' καθὼς γεγραπται [περὶ αὐτοῦ
οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] παραδίδεται

καλὸν ἢν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγενήθη' ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος ²⁵ [ἀποκριθεῖς
δὲ ἰούδας ὁ παραδίδους αὐτὸν εἶπεν' μητι ἐγὼ εἰμι' ρ[αββ]εὶ λε

²⁴ The *ν* added above ἐγενήθη is in paler ink and probably from a different hand.

² Cf. Hoskier, *Codex B and its Allies*, pp. x-xii, to the effect that Burkitt's conclusion on the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Matthew 1, 1-20 is unsound.

γ[ε] [ι αυτω σ]υ ειπας ²⁶ εσθιόντων δε αυτων' λαβων ο ιη[ς] αρτον
 και ευλογ[η]σας εκλασεν και δους τοις μαθηταις ε[ι]πεν λα
 βετε φαγε[τε] τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου' ²⁷ και λαβων τ[ο] ποτηριον
 και ευχαρ[ι]στησας' εδωκεν αυτοις' λεγων' πiete εξ [αυτου παν
 τες ²⁸ τουτ]ο γαρ εστιν το αιμα μου της διαθηκης τ[ο] περι
 πολλων εκ[χ]υνομενον εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων' ²⁹ λ[ε]γω δε υμιν
 ου μ[η] πιω απ αρτι εκ τουτου γεννηματος της [αμπελου
 εως τη]ς ημερας εκεινης οταν αυτο πιω με[θ] υμων
 καινον] εν τη βασιλεια του πατρος μου ³⁰ και υμνησαντ[ε]ς
 εξηλθ[ον] εις το ορος των ελαιων ³¹ το[ι]τ[ε] λ[ε]γει αυτοις ο ιη[ς]
 παντε]ς υμεις σκανδαλισθησεσθε εν εμοι εν ταυτη τ[η]
 νυκτι] ταυτη' γεγραπται γαρ παταξ τον ποιμενα κ[αι] δια
 σκορπ[ι]σθησεται τα προβατα της ποιμνης' ³² μετα δε το
 εγε[ρ]θηναι με' προαξω υμας εις την γαλιλαιαν' ³³ απο
 κ[ρι]θεις δε ο πετρο[ς] ειπεν ει παντες σκανδαλισθη
 σ[ον]ται εν σοι' εγω ουδεποτε σκανδαλισθησομαι
³⁴ ε[φ]η αυτω και ο ιη[ς] αμην λεγω σοι οτι ταυτη τη νυ
 κ[τι] πριν αλεκτορα φ[ω]νησαι τρις απαρνη[σ]η με
³⁵ λ[ε]γ[ει] αυτω ο πετρος κ[αν] δεη με συν σοι αποθανειν
 ο]υ μη σε απαρνησομ[αι] ομοιως και παντες οι μαθηται
 ειπον ³⁶ τοτε ερχεται [μετ αυτων ο ιη[ς] εις χωριον λεγομενον
 γεθσημαει' και [λεγει τοις μαθηταις καθισατε αυτου
 [εως ου απελθων εκει προσευξομαι ³⁷ και παραλαβων]

Page 2

τον πετρον και τους δυο υιου]ς ζεβεδαιου [ηρξατο λυπει
 σθαι και] αδημονειν ³⁸ τοτε λεγει αυτοις περιλυπος εστιν
 η ψυχη μου] εως θανατου' μεινατε [δ]ε ωδε και ερηγοριετε

²⁶ εκαλεσεν, first written, was corrected to εκλασεν by first hand.

²⁸ εκ[χ]υνομενον: superscribed ν seems second hand.

²⁹ του, omitted by first hand, was added between the lines by the second hand.

³⁶ The first line seems too long, but crowding sometimes occurs at line ends.

³⁸ [δ]ε: the top of the ε has cleaved off with the upper layer of papyrus, so that the remnant looks more like σ; there is space for one letter before it, but I know no corresponding variant.

ερηγορειτε: note the same spelling in verses 40 and 41. It is probably an early Egyptian variation.

μετ εμου ³⁹κ]αι προελθων μικρον ε[π]εσεν επι προσωπον αυτου
 προσευχομ]ενος και λεγων' πατερ μου' ει δυνατον εστιν πα
 ρελθαι απ] εμου το ποτηριον τουτο' πλην ουχ ως εγω θελω
 αλλ ως συ]' ⁴⁰ και ερχεται προς τους μαθητας' και ευρισκει αυ
 τους κα]θευδοντας' και λεγει τω πετρω' ουτως ουκ ἴσχυσαν
 μι]αν ωραν εγρηγορησαι μετ εμου' ⁴¹ εγρηγορειτε και
 προσευ]χεσθε ἵνα μη ελθῃτε εις πειρασμον' το μεν π[ρ]ο
 προθυ]μον η δε σαρκ̃ ασθενης' ⁴² παλιν εκ δευτε[ρου προ
 σηξα]το λεγων' πατερ ει' ου δυναται τουτο' παρελ[θειν εαν
 μη αυτ]ο πω' γενηθητω το θελημα σου' ⁴³ και ελθω[ν παλιν
 ευρεν] αυτους καθευδοντας' ησαν γαρ αυτων ρι ο[φθαλμοι
 βεβαρ]ημενοι' ⁴⁴ και αφεις αυτους' απελθων προσ[η]υξατο
 τον αυ]τον λογον ειπων' παλιν ⁴⁵ τοτε ερχεται πρ[ο]ς τ[ους μα
 θητα]ς' και λεγει αυτοις' καθευδετε το λοιπον' και [α]να[παυε
 σθε ιδ]ου ηγγικεν η ωρα' και ο υἱος του ανθρωπου παρ[α]δ[ιδοται
 εις χειρας αμαρτωλων' ⁴⁶ εγειρεσθε αγωμεν ἴδου η[γγικεν
 ο παραδιδους μ]ε ⁴⁷ και ε]τι αυτου λαλουντος' ἴδου ἰουδ[ας] εις
 των ἸΒ ηλθεν' και μετ αυτου οχλος πολυς μετα [μαχαιρων
 και ξυλων απο των αρχιερων' και πρεσβυτερων [του λαου
⁴⁸ ο δε παραδιδους αυτον εδωκεν αυτοις σημει[ον λεγων
 ον εαν φιλησω αυτος εστιν κρατησατε αυτον' ⁴⁹ και [ευθε
 ως προσελθων τω ἰησῷ ⁵⁰ ειπεν αυτω' εταيره εφ ο [παρει
 τοτε προσελθοντες επεβαλον τας χειρας επι τον [ιην
 και εκρατησαν αυτον' ⁵¹ και ἴδου εις μετα ἰησῷ εκτε[λινας
 την χειρα απεσπα]σεν την μα]χαιραν αυτου κα[ι πα
 ταξας τον δουλον . . . του α]ρχιερεως αφειλ[εν αυ
 του το ωτιον' ⁵² τοτε λεγει αυτ]ω ο ἰης αποστρεψο[ν την
 μαχαιραν σου εις τον τοπον] αυτης παντες γαρ οι
 λαβοντες μαχαιραν εν μα]χαίρη απολυνται [. . .

⁴⁰ ισχυσαν [. . . . μι]αν: four letters are needed to fill the lacuna;
 ms. 85 adds ουδε here, but I see no reason for supplying it in the papy-
 rus, as ισχυσαν must be corrected or completed. I prefer ισχυσαν[τες]
 though but three letters; cf. ισχυσας of A 1396 ff² g² gat Kells Mac-
 Regol Arm BohJ3 Syr^{pms} Chr Juvenc.

⁵¹ δουλον . . . του]: three or more letters are needed to fill the
 line. Either add τον or repeat του by dittography.

⁵² In the last line there seems sufficient space for λαμβανοντες of fam¹
 in place of λαβοντες, but I have not ventured to correct the text, as
 a slight variation in spacing might fill the line.

THE "THEOLOGY OF CRISIS"

REMARKS ON A RECENT MOVEMENT IN GERMAN THEOLOGY

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THE following lectures were delivered in March, 1926, at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Only the opening sentences have been slightly altered. I had originally intended to give a general survey of the numerous tendencies and movements in present-day German theology, but the situation is so complicated that such a survey would necessarily have been superficial. I therefore preferred to follow a single trend of thought and direct attention to a movement which seems most characteristic of the present situation, and which is likely to command the interest if not the assent of American theologians. I must say at the outset that this movement is entirely opposed to what we older men have been taught and have ourselves been teaching. Yet it is only fair to acknowledge that the leaders of the movement have something to tell us, and that they know how to impress the younger generation. At this moment we are actually speaking of a "Theology of Crisis." That is the subject which I have attempted to elucidate in these lectures. And since the subject has not hitherto been treated in English, I have thought fit to append a complete bibliography. In that bibliography works or papers mentioned in the course of the lectures are marked with an asterisk.

I

Some forty years ago I attended the lectures of a young Giessen professor whose growing reputation was attracting scores of young men of different countries and tongues to the little German university on the borders of the Lahn, until then almost unknown in theological circles. The professor was Adolf Harnack, whom I am proud to call my teacher. During the very months I spent at Giessen he was putting the last touches to the great work which has since established his world-wide

fame, the "Dogmengeschichte." In that book the origin and development of early Christian doctrine, which had long been the object of critical study on the part of eminent scholars, was delineated in such masterly fashion that further progress hardly seemed possible. But what especially attracted us in this work as well as in Harnack's whole attitude, was the fact that he was no mere antiquary, no anatomist, so to speak, dissecting a corpse, but on the contrary was keenly aware of the fact that the Christian Dogma of which he wrote was a living organism. He held it to be the duty not only of the historian, but also of the theologian, to free that organism of the dross which had adhered to it and which weighed so heavily on the minds of earnest Christians. It was the task of the scholar to show that certain doctrines, by means of which the Church of former days had endeavored to interpret the divine mysteries to its adherents, had in fact come into existence at a definite period, within a definite horizon, and out of a definite world-view, none of which had the least resemblance to our own. And that demonstration would make it impossible to consider such dogmas and formulas, themselves the product of history and therefore, like all historic things, transitory, as binding upon Christian thought under the wholly altered conditions of our day. It was indeed a step towards freedom. But it will be readily understood that in those circles which clung to the old interpretation of dogma, regarding its very letter as holy, Harnack's attitude was thought to be subversive, if not revolutionary, and that among such people he speedily became the best hated man in existence. In fact, when shortly afterwards he was called to Berlin, the dictum went forth that now there had been established at the capital that seat of Satan which St. John saw erected at Pergamos.

In following this path Harnack thought of himself only as the disciple of a greater man, his teacher Albrecht Ritschl. That eminent theologian made it his life work to introduce a conception of the Christian religion which should be free, on the one hand, from the domination of the forms with which human hands had enveloped it and, on the other, from that attenuation to which the scriptural revelation had been subjected by phil-

osophical speculation and rationalistic interpretation. Between the Scylla and Charybdis of orthodox theology on the one side and liberal theology on the other, Ritschl sought to point a new way, taking as his guides Kant with regard to form and Luther with regard to matter. His undertaking was so simple, while its aim and method were so convincing, that he could not fail to succeed. In fact, the ablest theologians at the German universities, and in their train the whole rising generation, came completely under the influence of his teaching. The "School of Ritschl" was everywhere talked of, and even in the United States that school exerted no little influence upon the development of theological science.

By a peculiar, though by no means fortuitous coincidence, the birth and propagation of this Ritschlian theology were contemporaneous with the rise of our new German Empire. Under the clear-headed leadership of a statesman of rare genius, the Germans of that day undertook to erect a state which should hold its own in the broad and rapid stream of modern life, freed from the ballast of antiquated tradition, and sustained by the enthusiasm of millions, who had no intention of continuing to be merely a people of "poets and thinkers," but meant to create for themselves, in the concert of Europe and perhaps of the world, that place which had hitherto been denied them. In one sense it may be affirmed that what Bismarck did for the German nation Ritschl achieved for German theology. And in this connection it is important to note how the idea of "Beruf" (vocation), in its bearing upon Christian ethics, was interpreted after the model of the *perfectio christiana* expounded in Melancthon's defence of the Augsburg Confession. That idea was developed principally by Ritschl's most prominent successor, Wilhelm Herrmann of Marburg. The strong insistence on the moral and religious value of the citizen's calling, when practised in the fear of God and love of man; on the association with the "world" in all its aspects, which such a calling not merely permits but actually demands; on the leavening of civil life with a religion untrammelled by idle speculation about the Whence and the Whither, by metaphysics and eschatology; on the duty of taking one's stand squarely and courageously in the domain

of reality — all this exercised a peculiar fascination upon a generation which felt itself called to coöperate in the establishment of a state consecrated to the interests of modern civilization. To reconcile religion and culture, the Ritschlian theology seemed to be exactly what was needed. I may refer once more to Harnack, who in his "*Wesen des Christentums*" (in the English translation, "*What is Christianity?*") by means of a survey of the historical development, addressed to laymen as well as students of theology, gave definite expression to this conception of the Christian religious life.

It cannot be denied that, from the first, this theory of Christianity was not free from the reproach of rationalism. Its antagonists — and it had some very fierce antagonists — soon discovered in it a recrudescence of the tendencies which had characterized the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Kant was a suspicious witness for the defence, and Ritschl's representation of Luther seemed to them a distortion. They lost no time in pointing out that Ritschl's theology came dangerously near to the positivism of August Comte, which especially disclaims any concern with religion. And finally, by renouncing every attempt to find a metaphysical basis for religion, Ritschl could not escape the charge that, like Ludwig Feuerbach, he had failed to avoid the danger of illusionism. All this seemed borne out by the fact that, however severely the Ritschlians, both master and pupils, might criticize Schleiermacher, they nevertheless held fast to that great German idealist, as the pioneer of modern theology, and consequently to his anthropocentric conception of the Christian faith.

These censures multiplied and became more pointed when the original Ritschlian theology was modified at the hands of the younger generation of Ritschlians (to which I myself belong), under the influence of the new point of view engendered by the study of the history of religions. That point of view resulted in what, before the war, we were accustomed to speak of briefly as "modern theology." This latter takes its stand on "historicism," that is, on what one of our leaders, the too-early deceased Ernst Troeltsch, defined as "the systematic historicizing of all our thoughts about man, his culture, and his values,"

a process which was begun by the Enlightenment and continued and to a certain extent completed by the scientific labors of the nineteenth century. In the course of time, this historicism involved Christianity together with the source of its revelation, the Bible—this last particularly, and to a far greater degree than Ritschl himself would have approved. Incidentally it had the effect of giving a merely relative value to the theological statements concerning Christianity and the Bible, and thus increasing those dangers to which I have just alluded. But nothing could check its triumphant march, and wide theological circles were forced to submit to it with what grace they could. From the standpoint of the Protestantism which clings to revelation, this victorious movement was divesting Christianity of its supernatural character. Perhaps those who had spoken of Satan's seat were right. Meanwhile every theological faculty had set up such a seat of Satan; for somehow or other all the faculties had capitulated to historicism, whether their members leaned to modern or to moderno-positive, to pietistic or to orthodox views.

Then came the war, and with it a reaction. Students of theology, and those who still looked forward to that vocation, were summoned to the field of battle. They fought and bled for honor, home, and country. And then they came back, with hearts stirred with longing, and with a veritable hunger for religion. They had experienced the infinite, the unspeakable; the heights of enthusiasm and the depths of dejection, the tremendous and the trivial, the sublime and the hideous, things to confirm their faith and things to provoke despair. Their souls were alive with a new impulse to deliver mankind from the demon of hatred. Consciously or unconsciously, they recoiled from that mechanical civilization whose horrible excrescences they had constantly witnessed during the dolorous years of the war, and to whose disastrous effects they had themselves been forced to contribute. Had they really gone to war for such a civilization? and in the name of religion? Could one preach war in Christ's name? — this war, that had achieved nothing but destruction and devastation, that had wrought the ruin of real culture, of all civilization worth the name, and had

torn to shreds the "bands of pious awe" in both morality and religion? The stock phrases, the "suicide of Europe," the "decay of the West," which were given a scientific rendering in that work of Oswald Spengler so eagerly read all over Germany, were not without their effect on our young students of theology.

Like Faust, they "longed for revelation." And now, when they returned to the university and sat at the feet of their theological teachers, they were confronted with this historicism, which we in happier days had regarded as the very framework of theology, the meat and drink of science by which a whole generation had been kept alive. Instead of reviving, this historicism repelled them; instead of refreshing, it chilled them. That purely relative appraisal of every event in history which went hand in hand with it was as dust to souls thirsting for the absolute. What we older men had called science — the critical analysis of the books of the Old and New Testaments, the intensive study of the past of Church and doctrine, the systematic elaboration of the faith in dogmatics and ethics — all this seemed only to lead away from the one thing needful. And the attempt to reconcile modern civilization with living religion was of all things the most futile.

This might conceivably have happened without the war, but the decisive factor was certainly the war. Involuntarily we turn our eyes to the seventeenth century, the period of transition from orthodoxy to pietism. When the storm of the Thirty-years War was over and quiet once more reigned in the German provinces, then too it became apparent that the younger generation had wearied of confessional strife; that the bickerings of orthodox churchmen had lost their attraction; and that students were disinclined to seek instruction in long-winded exegetical and polemical lectures which apparently had nothing to offer the inner man. It is most illuminating to trace the development from the days of bitter controversy between Lutherans and Calvinists — as well as among the Lutherans themselves — down to Philipp Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke, a development which led to a complete reversal in the conception of theological science and theological study.

What then occupied decades is now struggling for accomplishment in the course of a few years. And no wonder, in an age that has witnessed a world war; a war in which, in an incredibly short time, more battles and more fighting occurred than in all previous wars combined.

Like Spener and the great Pietist leaders, our young theologians aimed to take as their point of departure the conception of Christianity held by the Protestant reformers. Of course they were dealing with a different antagonist. For they were no longer confronted by the Old-Lutheran or Old-Reformed orthodoxy. It was the exact opposite of that orthodoxy, the Enlightenment, which seemed to block their way. In the Enlightenment, or the palpable consequences of it down to the present day, they perceived the root of all evil. Because for it man is the measure of all things, and religion is a mere function of the human soul, hence something belonging to this world and purely subjective. That view is opposed by the "faith" of the biblical and Protestant tradition, faith in something given, objective, real — faith in the Word, the Word of God, who is above everything human and created; the Word that speaks to us out of the sacred documents of Christianity; the Word of which Luther affirmed that it is the *principium primum* and the source and cause of all things. Here God the supramundane, not man the intramundane, is the measure of all things. Nor should we speak of "God *and* man," in the sense of something intermediate between the two, but only of "God, *not* man." And our duty is to surrender ourselves enthusiastically to this God, before whom man, his culture, and his values are as nothing.

II

Before attempting to enlarge on these statements, I should like to mention a personal experience. It was in the autumn of 1920, at the Wartburg. A large company of religious-minded persons was assembled to listen to a lecture by a young clergyman, whose name, then almost unknown, has since become familiar to all groups of German theologians — Friedrich Gogarten. He spoke, in connection with the book of Spengler

to which I have already alluded, on the "Crisis in our Culture," making the central point of his discussion the question whether religion is the soul or the crisis of that culture. After what I have said about this movement, the answer he gave will perhaps be obvious. But the older generation among his hearers — myself included — were not at the time quite clear on the subject. We separated with the feeling that we had heard something important, without being able to give an exact account of it. The five years which have since elapsed have made things more clear, and today we are confronted only with the question whether or not we can endorse the conclusion then expressed. But this very question is, under existing conditions, one which searches heart and reins, and on its answer principally depends, if I am not mistaken, the future development of theology in Germany. We have reached the point where we speak without further definition of a "Theology of Crisis." What we mean by it I will now endeavor to explain.

The views expressed by Gogarten in that lecture at the Wartburg owed their origin to the stimulus he had himself received from Karl Barth and the latter's great book on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Barth is a Swiss, born at Basel in 1886, the son of a Calvinist minister who afterwards became professor of Theology at Bern. He studied in Bern, but principally in Tübingen and Berlin, and was strongly influenced by both Harnack and Herrmann, the very theologians with whom he later most disagreed. For ten years he was pastor in a little town in the canton of Aargau. In 1921 he was appointed professor of Reformed Theology at Göttingen, and since last autumn he has been teaching at Münster, in Westphalia. The book by which he is best known was written during his pastorate. In spite of its size, it has gone through several editions, and today it is among the most widely circulated and, what is more, most widely read theological works.

It is a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans; not after the pattern of these learned works bestowed upon us by the historico-critical period of theological science, but a discussion of the profoundest questions of revealed religion, based on St. Paul and with continuous elucidation of the latter's thought,

and it may well be compared to the great works of the Reformers on the same subject. Barth approached his sublime theme in the same spirit as Luther. Like Luther, he did not mean to stay on the surface, but was resolved to penetrate "to the kernel of the nut, to the marrow of the bone and the wheat." We may leave to one side the question whether his interpretation of Paul is always correct. It might be assumed that something of his own spirit would inevitably creep in. What we are concerned to point out in the present connection is the great emphasis he lays upon the paradoxical nature of religion and of faith in particular as the organ of religion. Here Barth shows himself to be in agreement with the great Danish writer, Kierkegaard (died 1855), whose utterances he often quotes. Though undoubtedly influenced by Kierkegaard, he was originally of kindred spirit. You know the old phrase, *credo quia absurdum*. Employed in this way, it is merely the traditional abbreviation of the terse sentences of Tertullian: "The Son of God was crucified: I am not ashamed of it, precisely because it is something to be ashamed of. The Son of God died: that is perfectly credible, because it is absurd. He was buried and rose from the dead: that is certain, because it is impossible." In this "because" in place of the rational "although" lies that which, according to Barth also, is the very essence of religion. In God, in the knowledge of God, in man's relation to God — everywhere, this paradoxical nature of religion is apparent. Thus Barth can write: "Christ is himself the paradox. He is *the* possibility which has all the tokens of impossibility." Or again: "The possibility of belief can be comprehended only as impossibility." And perhaps his strongest statement: "Our experience is that which is not our experience; our religion consists in the suspension of our religion."

If we are not impatiently to brush aside these and similar statements — and they might be multiplied a hundredfold — as absurd or at best a mere dialectical playing with words, we must remember that for the men of highest rank in the domain of religion, for Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin, the paradoxical, that is, that which conflicts with the apparent, was the very life-principle of religion. Religion is in fact the escapement

in the clock or, to use Barth's words, the "great disturbance" in life, which as such must permeate all things. If it fails to do that, "if God does not alone remain — God the unknown, the hidden, in his eternal power and deity the *only* strength of the strong — then all things have become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Barth thinks that he can explain Paul — and, one may add, Luther — best by constantly pointing away from God as revealed (*Deus revelatus*) to God as hidden (*Deus absconditus*); in fact, by seeing precisely in the revelation of God in Jesus Christ — another paradox — the complete concealment and disguise of God. For does not God become in Jesus Christ a genuine secret (*μυστήριον*, as Paul says), guarded from all inquisitiveness and religious impertinence? It is almost as if Barth dreaded the profanation of the God revealed through the cross of Christ, which, in the words of the apostle, was unto the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Greeks foolishness.

If we bear all this in mind, we shall understand better why Gogarten, in answering his own question, could only say: Religion is not the soul of culture; it is the *crisis*, that is, the doom, of culture. Religion is anything but what the Enlightenment, idealism, and modern liberal Protestantism think it is, namely, the crown and fulfillment of true humanity. On the contrary, it is "the point at which not man's health, but his sickness (that is, sin, the thing which separates us from God) becomes manifest; where not the harmony, but the discord of all things begins to sound; not where culture is established, but rather where, together with its partner barbarism, it is most emphatically called in question." In conscious opposition to all who seek to bring harmony into the field of religion, Barth writes: "To be a religious man is to be a torn, a discordant, a restless man. Only he can be at one with himself in whom the great question of his oneness with God has not yet been awakened." He would actually "refrain from recommending religion as something desirable, interesting, or enriching, to innocent people who in their heart of hearts desire only to be at rest." With great frankness he expresses the opinion that "whoever honestly prizes his individual peace and quiet, or a well-tempered humanity, or the continuity of human culture,

should, with Lessing, Kant, and Goethe, defend himself with all his might against the invasions of religion." To be sure, he must not flatter himself that he can keep religion out, for the "religious possibility" resides too deep in man for him to escape it entirely. "Western culture is certainly not the power to steel him against that possibility." On the other hand, culture — whether science, art, morality, or even religion itself, in its every-day sense — never leads to the "impossible" possibility of God. These may lead to all sorts of surrogates, for instance to the Church, and may indeed, as we shall see later, have their own uses, but to genuine religion they do not lead. "The reality of religion is man's horror of himself." When once a man has digested the truth of these words, he will be immediately convinced that culture is doomed, regardless of the degree of culture he may himself have attained, and no matter how in every-day life he is affected by it, whether positively or negatively, with acquiescence or with protest. Nor is there any need of a "last judgment" or (as Barth puts it) of a "brilliant or terrible finale," an "end of the world" through an historical telluric or cosmic catastrophe. Judgment is being passed at every moment. That "horror" consists in the recognition of the fact that at every moment we stand on the confines of all time, begetting in the truly pious the bold resolve to recognize and apprehend in the end (of the human) the beginning (of the divine). "Let man but tread his own path to the end, and he will stand before God."

When this revolution takes place within us, we reach an inward state utterly different from all that lies on *this side* of the "judgment." For between the temporal works of man and the eternal works of God, between this side and the other side, between culture and genuine religion, there is a radical difference. Yet that is not saying that life on this side is rendered impossible for us. Only we must bear in mind that, so long as we reckon values according to purely human standards, we are moving in a mental atmosphere which has nothing to do with religion. "Our consciousness of the distance which separates man with all his culture from God, does not involve our keeping the two absolutely apart. To be sure, if we humanize the divine in its

relation to history and materialize it into some particular account of religion or salvation, God as such is sacrificed in the process. But when once we are clear about that, we perceive that every occurrence in the world of culture and history familiar to us derives content and meaning from the unknown God, and that every impression of revelation points to revelation itself." With this premise, and obviously following in the footsteps of Nietzsche, Barth can even defend the "uses of history." He holds that "seen in this higher light — the light which shines down from the divine upon the human — history speaks to life as its mistress (*historia vitae magistra*)," although "the value of God's communications remains unaffected by the course of human history."

This dialectical attitude towards religious problems enables Barth, as I have already hinted, to take a generous, or rather a tolerant position as regards the germs of genuine religion which may exist among Christians and non-Christians, in or outside the Church and the churches. He says somewhere, "We are ready to take our place cheerfully beside the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox Protestant, the Liberal, the adherent of the League of Nations, or anybody else, and to quiet him with the desired assurance, You are right — that is, with the disquieting proviso that you too are wrong."

These and similar ideas were elaborated by Barth in his remarkable commentary, not systematically — the subject did not allow that — but by combining them impressively with his exposition of Paul's thought, in lucid, animated, and at times even fascinating language. To the receptive reader his ideas are highly suggestive; and it is not for nothing that thousands and tens of thousands return to his book again and again. The critic, however, finds himself somewhat at a loss before it. Dialectics are very difficult to deal with. The arguments you were about to bring forward, your adversary always has disposed of in advance. And should you succeed in getting him into a corner, he will adroitly withdraw into the fortress of his paradoxes and from that coign of vantage laugh all attacks to scorn. Or else he may shrug his shoulders and deliberately refuse to answer.

Very properly my colleague in the chair of philosophy at Giessen, Professor Messer, concluded his summary of Barth's ideas, to which I am much indebted, with Barth's own words, "You are right — with the proviso that you too are wrong." I suggest that for the moment we content ourselves with this proviso, which Barth himself, following his paradoxical habit, has characterized as "disquieting."

III

But there is one question which we still have to face, and it is one which, in view of Barth's dialectics, seems more urgent than ever. That is the question, What is to become of theology with such an interpretation of religion as "the crisis of culture"? — of theology as a science, taught at the universities? This question Barth answered in a lecture to which he gave the title, "The Word of God the Subject of Theology." The lecture was delivered in 1922 to the same audience which two years earlier had listened to Gogarten, in a village church at the foot of the Elgersburg, another of the Thuringian castles, and the impression it then made is vividly before me even to-day. It has since appeared in print together with other treatises of his. The handy little volume, bearing the general title, "The Word of God and Theology," contains the quintessence of Barth's thought and would, in my opinion, well repay translation into English.

It is obvious that Barth could have no patience with the idea that the pursuit of historico-critical science, with which the theological faculties are mainly occupied nowadays, is the task of theology. I say, the task of theology; for Barth is far from wishing to hinder the occupation in itself. He is well aware that knowledge concerning the phenomenon of religion and the forms of its manifestation in history is indispensable to the historian, the psychologist, the philosopher, and therefore also to the theologian in so far as he is something of all these. But he cannot understand why such investigators should not be capable of acquiring and cultivating that knowledge by themselves, and without the assistance of theology. Or, he asks, is the so-called "religious sense" the private property of the

historian or psychologist who happens to be also a theologian, so that the ordinary historian and psychologist is incapable of studying the documents of religion with the necessary devotion and expertness? If theology is to be merged in the science of religion, theologians have forfeited their right to any place in the universities. As a science, in the same sense as the other sciences, theology is merely a useless duplication of several disciplines belonging to other faculties. As theologians (such is Barth's thesis) it is our duty to speak of God even in the university. What for others is a mere note of interrogation somewhere in the background, a bare possibility, which they may recognize only as a "Grenzbegriff," as the impossible (note the paradox!), that theology must defend as the Answer. It must not speak with bated breath or whisper about God, but must speak aloud; not merely hint at him, but, being itself derived from him, must bear witness of him; not place him somewhere in the background, but, in defiance of all methodical presuppositions, must set him in the very forefront.

Yet we — the dialectician himself interposes — are men and as such cannot speak of God. For to speak of God, if it is to be taken seriously, would be to speak upon the basis of revelation and faith. The task of theology would be to declare that *God becomes man*, actually as the *Word of God*. For this "as the Word of God" is the only answer that is truly transcendental and for that very reason has the power to solve the riddle of God's immanence. Barth can think of three different paths which might conceivably lead to that answer, although he is certain that none of them will actually reach the goal: the dogmatic, the critical, and the dialectical. Orthodoxy chose the first, for which Barth does not blame her; indeed, he considers the powerful and vital supernaturalism which pervades the ecclesiastical creeds as preferable to modern broken-windedness. Yet he feels called upon to affirm that orthodoxy only succeeds in suppressing man's quest for God. The abrupt "There, believe that!" of the creeds accomplishes nothing. The second path was chosen by the mystics. In accordance with his fundamental ideas, Barth calls it "the critical path," because here man offers himself for "judgment, in the endeavor

to die as man, to surrender his individuality, his personality, his selfconsciousness, to the end that he may become a partaker of God. What renders this path commendable, is the recognition that man really does seek something he is not. Here God becomes man with such energy that, so to speak, nothing is left of man. But even so, one still cannot speak of God. For that *that* should be God which would permeate a man while annihilating him, is indeed, what the mystics and their followers *declare*, but what no one is in a position to *demonstrate*, since along that path we can get no farther than a negation. So there remains the dialectical path, the path of Paul and the Reformation. This path Barth considers the best, because it brings the strength of the dogmatic path, namely the positive development of the idea of God, and that of the critical path, namely the negation of the human, into relation with the presupposition common to them both, the living truth, by which alone affirmation and negation gain significance. That God — the real God! — becomes man — actually man! — that fact, following this path, is seen to be the vital thing, the essential content of a genuine speaking of God. But the dialectician knows well enough that on so narrow an edge one cannot stand still, but must keep moving if he is to avoid a fall. Above all, not even the dialectician can make himself clear when called upon to speak, unless the desire for God is already present in the person he seeks to convince. For what he has to say is based on the assumption of that very truth which he is striving to establish.

And so the conclusion of the whole matter is another paradox: "The Word of God is at once the necessary and the impossible task of theology." It is necessary, because a return to the lower levels, where you are nominally a theologian but in reality nothing but a scientist, is as impossible to the theologian as to take leave of theology altogether. But the task is impossible, because only God himself can speak of God. If therefore you say, "the task of theology is the Word of God," you are simply proclaiming the defeat of all theology and all theologians. So we must rest content with realizing both facts: that we must and nevertheless cannot speak of God. And in so doing we shall give God the praise.

IV

I have presented these ideas at such length, firstly, because I think they merit it on their own account, and secondly, because an accurate acquaintance with them is required as a basis for our further considerations. At one point in his lecture Barth introduces an historical observation. He traces the pedigree which he claims for his theology. It ascends through Kierkegaard to Luther and Calvin, and on up to the apostle Paul and to the prophet Jeremiah, who, after he had been speaking of God for a quarter of a century, still felt compelled to exclaim, "Ah, Lord God! behold I cannot speak, for I am a child." And then Barth points out with special emphasis that the name of one theologian we might have expected is not included in the pedigree — Schleiermacher. "With all due respect to his genius, I consider Schleiermacher a poor teacher of theology, because he seems dangerously unaware of the fact that man as man is in need, in desperate need; unaware further of the fact that the whole fabric of religion, and not least of the Christian religion, shares in this need; unaware finally, that to speak of God is a totally different thing from speaking of man in somewhat lofty language." With these words war — uncompromising war — is declared against a point of view which was fundamental in scientific German theology, particularly so-called modern theology, during the nineteenth century, and which remains so to the present day. That point of view has its root in German idealism, that is, in the thought of the poets and thinkers of the classical period of German literature, for which the name of Schleiermacher has become, as it were, the symbol.

In so far as the thought of German idealism concerns the theologian, it can be summed up as a synthesis of religion and culture. Herder, towards the end of his life, expressed it in the fine formula, "to humanize Christianity and christianize humanity." This is the ideal which, under the influence of Herder, Goethe incorporated in the figure of Brother Humanus in "Die Geheimnisse," one of his profoundest poems, and which, so long as he lived, was never absent from his sublimest

utterances on Christianity. It is the spirit of that humanistic Christianity which breathes throughout Fichte's wonderful sermon: "Guide to the Blessed Life." It is the conviction which inspired Schleiermacher when, in words of fiery enthusiasm, he called upon the educated among his countrymen to restore to religion the consideration they had been withholding. In earlier years we were taught that this idealistic conception of Christianity was directly descended from the Reformation. And it is certainly true that later German thought, especially of the classical period, cannot be imagined without the influence of the Reformation. But in reality idealism sprang from the Enlightenment. For it absorbed, as its indispensable premises, both the naturalism and the rationalism of the Enlightenment. And the supernaturalism and the irrationalism by which in turn idealism strove to overcome the Enlightenment, is not the same as that supernaturalism and irrationalism on which was founded the religious faith of the Reformers and on which historic Christianity was reared. It is true that idealism attempted to substitute a revealed religion for the natural religion born of the Enlightenment; but we must not forget that its revealed religion is something that originates in the inherent creative powers of the human soul. That being the case, not only is the idealistic conception of religion not derived from the faith of the Reformers, but it stands in direct opposition to it.

It is this truth that Barth and his associates are striving to disseminate. And in doing so, they direct their attacks especially against Schleiermacher, because in his great theological work he gave that systematic expression to the idealistic conception of religion and revelation which became authoritative for later generations. They attack him with a violence and pugnacity which does credit to their courage, although frequently lacking in the respect due to their antagonist. But we need not make too much of that. From the nature of such controversies, exaggerations and misunderstandings are inevitable. For them a great, a holy cause is at stake; they may be pardoned if they fail to spare the individual.

Their champion in this "new controversy over Schleiermacher" is Emil Brunner. Like Barth he is of Swiss birth, but

he has remained in Switzerland, and for the past two years has been professor of systematic theology at the University of Zurich. The book which speedily placed him in the front rank of our younger systematic theologians bears the title: "Mysticism and the Word," with the subtitle: "The Contradiction between the Modern Interpretation of Religion and Christian Faith, as Illustrated by the Theology of Schleiermacher." On its title-page may be read a double motto: on the left a quotation from Goethe's *Faust*, "Gefühl ist alles; Name ist Schall und Rauch" (Feeling is everything, the name but empty sound and vapor); on the right a sentence of Luther's, *Verbum est principium rerum*. These quotations are well adapted to display the author's purpose. Schleiermacher's interpretation of religion is that of *Faust*, which is also that of modern theology. On the other hand, it stands in opposition to that of the Reformation and therefore to Christian belief. After what I have said about Barth, you will readily see why Brunner should select as a motto for the Christian belief of the Reformers "the Word" — the Word of God, the Word through which God reveals himself. Not quite so clear is his selection of the term "mysticism" for its antithesis. Brunner here deliberately takes issue with all those to whom mysticism is "nothing more and nothing less than the ultimate and most profound apprehension of religion as religion, the sublimation, as it were, of the religious in religion." For him — so runs his paradoxical antithesis — mysticism is "the most sublime form of the deification of nature, of heathenism, of the materialization of spirit." The justification for this startling assertion he finds in the close relationship which, he thinks, exists between mysticism and aestheticism. These two he calls twin sisters, their mother's lap being what he is inclined to term "the musical world-view." For "the primary element in music is feeling, boundless feeling, limited by no law, confined in no form, flowing and surging like the ocean, immeasurable, mysterious, unconscious, and uncontrolled."

In this feeling the modern man "experiences" religion. With pointed sentences Brunner shows how our modern literature, in so far as it aims to be religious (and that is largely the case), is

dominated by this quest of "experience," and how theology endeavors to keep pace with it. The latter "pours new wine into old bottles, or else it coins, out of this new religious consciousness, new forms of expression and seeks more adjustable, elastic, living symbols." The fact that it seeks symbols and rejects definite ideas is characteristic of this mysticism. "Compared with one's own original personal experience, belief which has a definite *what* as its object — the discredited *fides quae creditur* — appears to the modern pietist and theologian a mere petrification of that which once had life." Yet the theologian's conscience is not entirely easy. He vacillates between mysticism and faith, reinterpreting and recasting the content of faith in terms of mystical experience. He is filled with secret longing for mysticism, but dare not take the final step, and so contents himself with compromise. Meanwhile he has forgotten the "Word," the essential element of faith. Accordingly Brunner brings the accusation: "Mysticism works its most terrible havoc by destroying the understanding of the Word; by substituting for the clear, luminous revelation of God in the Word a 'musical revelation' born of intoxicated feeling. The Word is reduced to a mere 'word,' a mere means of utterance, whereas it is actually the creative spirit, the source of all spirit."

It is obvious that a theology marked by such exclusiveness was bound to come into conflict with Schleiermacher's theology of harmony and synthesis. For did not Schleiermacher insist that his philosophy and his theology (which he calls dogmatics) were "determined not to contradict each other"? A general survey like this cannot undertake to show in detail how Brunner proceeds to prove that Schleiermacher's theology is anti-Christian. It will be sufficient to keep in view the fundamental problem, which in this case is: Reason and Revelation. It was no accident that Brunner selected that problem as the subject of his inaugural lecture upon taking up his professorship in Zurich. The lecture, which was the logical sequel to his book, was entitled, "Revelation as the Foundation and the Subject of Theology."

In his book Brunner had formally defined the task of theology

as consisting in "ordered reflection on the origin, the meaning, and the connection of the truths in the maintenance of which faith consists." And he had repeatedly pointed out that, in direct opposition to mysticism, which lives on "the indefinite and indefinable," emphasis must be laid on reflection and its "daylight clarity." In the lecture this definition is set forth in more general terms. Recognizing, in the presence of his academic audience, the necessity of justifying theology as a science, Brunner begins by putting his finger on that which lies at the root of all scientific achievement. All science lives on the vitality of enquiry, on the intensity and depth of the problems it faces. All research originates in the consciousness that what we do not know is precisely what we desire and ought to know. And the deeper we bore, the nearer we come to the question of questions, namely, the questionableness of our knowledge. It is the mission of theology to keep alive within us the remembrance of that questionableness and to provoke the *reflection* it demands. This mission she has in common with philosophy, which latter, for the very reason that it takes for its problem the presupposition of every other science, namely the validity of knowledge, has always been regarded as the fundamental science. Theology is ready to travel the same road with philosophy for a considerable distance. In particular, like critical philosophy, she takes care to avoid all false leads out of the labyrinth such as are offered by metaphysics (after the Aristotelian pattern) or by speculation (after the Neo-Platonic fashion). She rejoices when philosophy agrees to recognize morality as the foundation of all theory and the consequent primacy of the practical reason over the theoretical reason. But there their roads part. There is one thing which philosophy, though bound on principle to cast doubt on all things, dare not do; it dare not lay hands on reason itself. It will not and cannot attack the instrument with which it operates. Theology, on the other hand, believes it possible and necessary to discard that instrument. When boring down to the deepest questions, a point is reached where even the practical reason does not avail, because even the practical reason knows only postulates. At that point one is confronted by the

question which concerns our very life, a question so urgent that it turns into an accusation and the failure to answer it brings condemnation — this question: Can you justify yourself before the highest court that will sit in judgment upon you, the court which you call God? Man and reason furnish no way over the gulf which yawns at this point, no answer to that question, no deliverance from that accusation.

The answer to this question can come from God alone, through his invasion of the world-order established by himself. To try to think this out, to grasp it with our reason, is madness. But what if this divine invasion be construed not as a thought but as a deed, not as an idea but as an event? What if God emerged from his silence? if the divine Logos, as actual Word, spoke to us in time? if God revealed himself? Christian faith is the assertion that that thing has happened, and the task of theology is to make it comprehensible. The Word of God, to quote Barth, is the task of theology. But the Word of God became flesh in Jesus Christ. To that event, to that moment in history, faith points as the spot where eternity became time and time eternity. And there faith finds the answer to the question which man and reason cannot answer, and the solution of the life-conflict which man's power cannot solve — the justification of the sinner, the divine promise of an eternal and perfect goal. It is Christ.

This idea of revelation Brunner has worked out with the utmost precision and with almost passionate ardor. I give a few examples from among many agitated passages: "Revelation is something that happened only once, here and only here, then and only then; it is He and only He." "God alone is God, and man is never and in no sense God too; and there is no transition from one to the other." "The God of the Old Testament is unquestionably the presupposition of the Gospel revelation." "There is no point where the finite merges into the infinite, for *finitum non est capax infiniti*." "Therefore revelation is not a continuation of nature or creation, not the blossom or kernel of humanity, not the culmination of evolution . . . but the interruption of continuity, the intrusion of the utterly dissimilar — in a word, it is the miracle." Revela-

tion is "the paradox against which nature and reason rebel, to the thinker foolishness, to the moralist a stumbling-block. It is *the* paradox, *the* contradiction in thought (Denkwiderspruch), not merely *something* paradoxical, *something* contrary to reason." In short, we must not oppose rationalism with irrationalism, which merely disregards reason, but with anti-rationalism, which slaps it in the face.

You will agree that he could not have expressed himself more plainly. And perhaps you will share my admiration for the courage of the young man who dared to propound such ideas to a company of scholars of which the large majority were of a wholly different way of thinking. Brunner's conception of revelation is, I do not hesitate to say, directly opposed to that of German idealism, and consequently to that of modern theology. For it is characteristic of the latter, as Brunner himself correctly states, that it holds revelation to be vouchsafed to us whenever we are able to perceive in the visible the symbol or image of the invisible; whenever in the depths of the human soul that mysterious identity of the contemplated divine with the contemplating human spirit is attained; whenever in human consciousness the door is opened to the divine Being; in short, when religious experience and revelation, the human consciousness and the divine consciousness, are immediately united. Call to mind the words of Kant about the starry firmament that moves us to devotion, or Goethe's adoration of the sun as a revelation of the Highest. Think how we feel ourselves lifted into higher spheres when the first notes of Beethoven's *Eroica* strike upon our ear, or when hundreds of jubilant voices resound in the glorious *Sanctus* of Bach. Enter Faust's study and with him open the Bible:

We pine and thirst for Revelation,
Which nowhere worthier is, more nobly sent,
Than here, in our New Testament.

According to Brunner, all this is mysticism, panaestheticism. The difference between the two conceptions of revelation is obvious.

V

When I used the word "Bible" a moment ago, I touched the subject upon which we must now concentrate our attention, namely, the evaluation of the Bible as holy scripture, as the document of Christian revelation. I may perhaps be allowed to go back a little way and recall what I said earlier in these lectures about "historicism." How, we now ask, and at what decisive point, has the historicizing of our thought about man, his culture, and his values most affected our interpretation of Christianity as a phenomenon of history, and consequently our religious faith? The answer must be that it has altered our attitude towards the Bible.

Let us turn back three hundred years. What do we see? We see mankind dominated not only as regards its religious needs, but also as regards its view of the world, by the letter of a Holy Book which contains the revelation of God to man. No matter whether this book is accessible only to a small number of chosen servants of God, as in the Roman Catholic Church, or whether, as in Protestantism, it is put into the hands of all believers. No matter whether essential Christian belief is confined to what can be directly deduced from the Sacred Book, or whether dogmatic pronouncements of the Church or even purely theological doctrines are included. For even when it is thought desirable to curb confessional strife by the greatest possible restriction of the articles of faith, all are agreed that the letter of the Bible remains the ultimate authority. Whether Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, mystic, rationalist, or humanist, on this point they are unanimous. They are all biblicists; for them all, the Bible as the Word of God is the perfect and only standard of revelation.

But in time a revolution took place in the world-view of European nations. Copernicus achieved the feat of removing our planet from the dominant position it had previously held in the system of the spheres, and thus put an end to geocentrism. Descartes, meanwhile, by proclaiming the sovereignty of reason, furnished man with the means of shaking the universe. Geocentrism crumbled, while anthropocentrism raised its head.

This shift from geocentricism to heliocentricism and from theocentricism to anthropocentricism, a most curious development in itself, is at the bottom of all modern enlightenment.

Such an upheaval could not fail to exercise a disastrous effect on the conception of the Bible as the literally inspired codex of divine revelation. Loescher, one of the leaders of German Lutheranism in the early part of the eighteenth century and in his way a learned and capable man, declared, "So soon as man began to lay down the doctrine that the sun stands still and the earth revolves about it, contempt for Holy Scripture and the articles of faith visibly increased." Loescher was perfectly right. If the world moves round the sun, then it is not true that the ever-revolving spheres stood still at the command of Joshua; and a breach being thus made in the system at one point, it follows as a matter of course that the whole array of miracles which the Bible contains and on which dogma rests must either be proved or be rejected. And, as if it was not enough that natural science destroyed the biblical picture of the world, rationalism proceeded to take possession of the book itself. In Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* the idea is carried out that all supernatural factors are to be excluded when the Bible is studied as the document of revelation. The Bible is to be regarded as a book like any other, not as a "letter sent by God to man from heaven, so that it would be an offense against the Holy Ghost to declare it mutilated, falsified, or self-contradictory."

The further course of the Enlightenment, particularly in France, showed plainly that the naturalistic and rationalistic point of view could be fraught with fatal consequences for the authority of the Bible as the source of revelation as well as for revelation itself. To have saved it from that danger, without resorting to what may be called prehistoric interpretation, was the merit of German idealism, and especially of Herder. For Herder the Bible was the instrument by means of which he sought to achieve the great purpose of his life — to christianize humanity and humanize Christianity. We must read the Bible with human eyes, for it is a book written by men for men, and in a certain sense the most human of all books. But its content

is divine; its history and teaching must become the reader's own history and his most sacred interest. In his "Letters on the Bible" Herder gave classic expression to this idealistic interpretation, which in turn became the basis of the theological work of an entire century. This alone made it possible for the historical criticism of the Bible, the glory of nineteenth-century theological science, to keep free from the naturalistic and rationalistic developments of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, it corresponds with the comprehensive character of the idealistic conception of revelation already described, that idealism should deny to the Bible any exclusive claim to be the "Word of God." Thus Goethe writes to Lavater: "You say you can find nothing more beautiful than the Gospel. I find thousands of pages written by men favored of God, both in ancient and modern times, which are quite as beautiful, and quite as useful and indispensable to humanity."

Now it is exactly this idealistic conception or interpretation of the Bible that Barth and his followers aim to replace with that of the Reformers. God alone is to speak out of the Bible; not man, not even God in man. Anthropocentrism is to make way for theocentrism. From the study of the Bible everything is to be eliminated that does not bear on the one thing needful, on the answer to the ultimate question, Canst thou be justified? And nothing beside or outside the Bible shall be recognized as a way or a means for the answering of that question. No doubt, a sensitive ear will detect here notes which suggest Luther, Calvin, and the old Protestant faith. But however certain it may be that that ultimate question is also our own, and however ready we may be to listen to the answer which the Reformers drew from the Bible, we cannot forget that their answer is embedded in the world-view of bygone times, in that primitive topography which talked of heaven and hell as eschatological realities in the literal sense, and for which there existed angels and demons and a God enthroned above the clouds. Of course I recognize that even today millions of persons, in spite of all the talk about the Copernican world-view and the Darwinian theories of evolution, stand be-

fore the Bible and its sacred story like children before a fairy-tale; they see Adam and Eve walking in the Garden of Eden, regard as the cornerstone of their faith the marvelous story of Jesus, as summed up in the second article of the Creed, and picture to themselves the end of all things with the imagery of the Revelation of St. John. But among such simple believers, such believers in the Bible *sans phrase*, if I may use the expression, Barth, Brunner, and their host of associates and disciples are not to be reckoned. They can no more escape the results of the Enlightenment — taking the word in its widest sense — than can we. Only whereas we welcome those results and draw from them the necessary conclusions, they seize every occasion to denounce the Enlightenment and to escape its consequences.

But how do they do this? How do they manage, so to speak, to ward off those consequences and prevent them from harming their religious faith? They do it by means of their doctrine of the paradoxical character of religion. How hazardous I consider this doctrine I have already several times indicated, but I should like to enlarge upon the subject in one very important point. I spoke a moment ago of the historical criticism of the Bible as one of the glories of modern scientific achievement. Our young theologians recognize this, although with some reluctance. But they affirm that their religious position is not in the least affected by the results of such criticism. I will meet them half-way. I readily concede that it is immaterial to the religious value of a literary composition whether it originated with Peter, Paul, or James; whether in the historico-critical sense it is “authentic” or “unauthentic” — although, to my way of thinking, there is a certain danger in, so to speak, bringing the scriptures down to a uniform level by ignoring such questions. But we need not fight about externals, especially since the weapon of the paradox is not invoked in these connections. We may confine ourselves to the most weighty matter, the perennial subject of the relation of the historic Jesus to the Christ of faith.

It is particularly instructive to observe with what earnestness and fervor the representatives of the most recent phase in our theology oppose the study of the Life of Jesus and everything

connected with it. We older men were especially proud of that science. I may remind you of the numerous books on the "Life of Jesus" in all the leading languages which embody the results of such research. Our juniors point out how frail the proud edifice is, and on what a narrow basis it is erected. Not only have they every right to do so, but it is our duty to give careful attention to what they have to say. To that extent we occupy common ground. The difference lies deeper. It begins at the point where an attempt is made to treat history as of no importance. It was precisely in the historic Jesus of Nazareth that we of the older generation saw the highest revelation of God; and our dogmatics, our ethics, our Christian message in sermon and instruction, were all based upon that conception. Accordingly we were annoyed as well as disturbed when attempts were made to banish the story of Jesus and even the history of primitive Christianity to the realm of legend, or to give them a purely mythical interpretation. But our most recent theologians are not in the least concerned by such attempts. They are of course too sober and too well schooled in history to share in such fantasies. But they say, Whatever may be the facts regarding the historic Jesus, and however the Bible may have been produced, our Faith is not affected; the Word of God shines forth upon us out of it and sheds its light upon our path. For them the great declaration of the Prologue of John's gospel reads in the present tense: "The Word was made flesh and *dwells* among us, and we *behold* his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

So then they believe that they have discovered in dialectics the best weapon for putting to flight "historicism" and replacing its relativity with a new absolutism. It is no accident that they are so much given to quoting that master of dialectics, the apostle Paul. Did not Paul himself say, "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more" (2 Cor. 5, 16). If only they do not fall back into what I have called the "prehistoric" stage and attempt to cast aside all that has been achieved in the age of historicism! To

avoid that danger will be extremely difficult for theologians who have inscribed the word "paradox" upon their banner and mean to conquer with that emblem. For to them, as once to Tertullian, the impossible is possible, and irrationality is the true criterion of religion. Not without reason do they distinctly hold themselves aloof from "liberal" theology, while really feeling quite at home among the "orthodox," with whom nevertheless they refuse to be reckoned. It is not at all impossible that some day they will be on friendly terms even with the dogmas of orthodoxy, and that their attitude to the Bible will more and more approach that of the orthodox.

It is not the first time in history that a theology of dialectics has met such a fate. I am thinking of the period at the close of the thirteenth century. The epoch of Aristotelian scholasticism is approaching its end. Doubt is beginning to arise as to whether the alliance between theology and philosophy, which had received its classic expression in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, would prove tenable. For Aquinas it was self-evident that theology is a science like philosophy, since the former likewise draws its conclusions from recognized principles, valid in themselves, along the path and with the means of logical reasoning. This was disputed by Duns Scotus, and still more by Durandus of St. Pourçain. The latter independent thinker, whom the schoolmen honored with the title of *doctor resolutissimus*, held that theology is not a science in the sense just defined, but rather the apprehension of the truths of Holy Scripture, which as such coincides with faith, and that to attempt to deduce from it scientific knowledge is an absurdity. *Theologia est practica*; that is, its subject is conduct; in particular, it supplies guidance in the right way to reach God and to attain salvation. Durandus does not stand alone, for meanwhile the great revolution in epistemology has taken place: realism has given way to nominalism. The latter raises doubts as to the possibility of knowing or proving the supernatural. William of Occam appears. With effective dialectics he defends the proposition, *utraque pars potest teneri et neutra sufficienter probari*, "both sides of a question may be maintained, but neither can be adequately proved." The laws of logic have no bearing on

the doctrines of the Church. The distinguishing characteristic of those doctrines is precisely their irrationality; to apprehend them is a divine miracle. Here again the paradox is wisdom's last word. And what is the result? Dogmatism, unconditional surrender to the doctrines of the Church. Already with Occam this was the case, and to such a degree that his sincerity has been questioned, and his antirationalism has been suspected of being a mere blind for his scepticism. And indeed, the history of the decline of Scholasticism and the rise of the Renaissance shows to what an extent dogmatism on the one side and scepticism on the other take root in the soil of nominalism and antirationalism. On the other hand, we must not forget that out of Occamism came the theologian Martin Luther, who burst the bonds and reopened the way to divine truth. But this same Luther was antirationalistic to the bone, and his weapon in dialectical strife was the paradox, the contradiction in thought.

I must refrain from making a direct application of this historical reminiscence to the matter in hand. For then I should be tempted to prophecy, which ill becomes an historian. I prefer to return for a minute to something I mentioned at the beginning of these lectures, namely, the extent to which the present theological movement has been influenced by the war and its consequences. This is borne in upon us by Brunner, when in his book on Schleiermacher he speaks of the "terrible accusation" which "a shattered humanity hurls against a Christianity that has lost its bearings," now that the "beautiful optimism of culture on which the theology of Schleiermacher and, we may add, of all modern theologians rests, has become an object of merited scorn to a society robbed of its illusions." At a time when people are speaking of the "decay of the West," one cannot wonder at such pessimism. But I for one can only see in Brunner's statement a tremendous exaggeration. We would be duly grateful for the earnestness with which the "Theology of Crisis" probes the uttermost depths of the well of divine truth, but we shall not allow this theology to narrow or cloud our view of the heights and breadths of revelation in nature and in man. I consider the exclusiveness which clings to the Bible as the sole source of our religious life a grave danger

to that life itself. One of our philosophers of history, Wilhelm Dilthey, whose name is not unknown in this country, once wrote to a friend: "The Christian religion is an historic development of European religion. It must not be chained to its beginnings. . . . It is precisely in the multitude of religious figures which Christianity has produced, in the abundance of its religious writings, on theology, art, music, morals, and cults of every kind, covering the surface of Europe and surrounding us like an atmosphere, that lies the power which sustains Christianity." In extending these remarks to the American continent, I may recall the noble verses of James Russell Lowell:

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on paper leaves, nor leaves of stone;
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
Texts of despair and hope, of joy or moan,
While swings the sea, while mists the mountains shroud,
While thunders' surges burst on cliff of cloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.

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THE TEXT OF THE DE INCARNATIONE OF ATHANASIUS

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

AND

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ONE of the most important contributions to the textual criticism of Athanasius was published last year in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xxi, pp. 525 ff., by Professor J. Lebon. In it he announced the discovery in a late manuscript on Mt. Athos (Dochiariou 78) of a text of the *De Incarnatione* of Athanasius which differs so much from the ordinary text that it amounts to a separate recension. He pointed out that the antiquity of this recension is proved by conclusive evidence that it was known to Theodoret and to Leontius of Byzantium, and that it appears to have been akin to the Greek translated into Syriac in Cod. Vat. Syr. 104 in Rome, a manuscript of the sixth century. By the time that this number of the *REVIEW* is published it is probable that Professor Lebon's edition of Dochiariou 78 will have appeared in the *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense*.

Professor Lebon wrote to us in 1925 and asked if we had found any other traces of such a text. At that time Dr. Casey's collations had tended to show that all the manuscripts of the *De Incarnatione* are closely allied to each other, and that the Paris manuscript S is at least not obviously surpassed in importance by any other.

Last summer we visited Mt. Athos, but, except that we copied one page of Dochiariou 78 for Professor Lebon, we did no work at it, as we understood that he was shortly printing the complete text, and there was nothing to be gained by duplicating his work.

On the way home we stayed for a few days in Athens, and although it was vacation we were enabled by the kindness of the officials to see, in the National Library, cod. 428, originally

a collection of 17 treaties of Athanasius. Apparently no editor of Athanasius had ever looked at it and certainly it had never been studied until last summer, when we were fortunate enough to be able to see it, and spent a few hours in studying it. It proved to be earlier than the date assigned to it in the catalogue, for it cannot possibly be later than the tenth century. The facsimile which is appended to this article shows the beauty of its script.

Part of the Table of Contents of the manuscript is still extant and shows that it contained the following:

- α' τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν. Inc. αἱ μὲν αἱρέσεις ὅσαι τῆς ἀληθείας . . .
- β' τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν. Inc. ἐγὼ μὲν ὥμην τοὺς τῆς Ἀρείου . . .
- γ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Inc. οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται ὡς ἔοικεν . . .
- δ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Inc. πάντα μὲν ὅσα ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ σωτήρ . . .
- ε' τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ πίστεως καὶ τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων εὐρέσεως
- ς' τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ λόγου
- ζ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξους ὅτε ὁ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν διωγμὸς ἐγένετο
- η' τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθολικὴ ἐπιστολὴ
- θ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν λόγος σύντομος
- ι' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑλεγχος ὑποκρίσεως τῶν περὶ Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον τὸν Σαμοσατέα παρὰ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
- ια' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα ἐπίσκοπον περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
- ιβ' ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατ' ἐπιτομὴν ἐγράφη κατ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν λεγόντων κτίσμα εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
- ιγ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Σεραπίωνα
- ιδ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
- ιε' τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν
- ισ' μαρτυρίαι ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς περὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κοινωνίας εἰς τοὺς ὁμοίους εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πρὸς θεωρίαν δυσέφικτον καὶ μίαν ἔχειν ἐνεργεῖαν
- ις' τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρκου τοῦ διαδόχου κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν

The numbers in this list have been printed in the conventional manner, but it may prove important to note that the scribe actually wrote *αι*, *βι*, etc., instead of *ια*, *ιβ*. This is found in inscriptions but is rare in manuscripts. It is used in cod. Sinaiticus 154 and in the numeration of the gatherings of cod. Atho. Laur. B. 64, the codex edited by E. von der Goltz (see Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.*, 2nd ed., II, pp. 374 ff.).

It is at once obvious that this arrangement of treatises has no resemblance to that in the other corpora. But the order of the treatises against the Arians is peculiarly interesting, for the manuscript tradition varies considerably, as Montfaucon has noted. In codex S there is a note, quoted by Wallis (JTS iii, Oct. 1901, p. 102), which runs: οὗτος ὁ ἐνταῦθα α' λόγος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων δ' φέρεται, καὶ Σεβήρος δὲ ὁ δυσσεβὴς ἐν τῷ κγ' κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ γ' λόγου τῶν κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Παλαιστίνης τοῦ ἀπὸ γραμματικῶν δ' τὸν παρόντα λόγον ὀνομάζει, ὁ δὲ ἐν ὁσίοις Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Φαρᾶν, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ συγγράμματα καταλελοιπῶς ἀξιάγαστα, ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀγνοητῶν αὐτοῦ διαλόγῳ τέταρτον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν λόγον ὀνομάζει τὸν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ τεύχει τέταρτον κείμενον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ οἱ ἀρειομανῆται ὥς ἔοικε κρίναντες ἅπαξ ἀποστάται γενέσθαι. It should be noted that of course the 'impious' Severus is Severus of Antioch, and that Theodore of Pharan is the Monothelite bishop who was condemned at the Lateran Council in 649.

Unfortunately the rest of the Table of Contents is missing and the manuscript itself has suffered greatly, so that only ff. 186 are preserved.

The date of this codex, which makes it the earliest extant manuscript of Athanasius which has as yet been discovered, would be sufficient to render it important, and we were glad to accept the kind offer of Mr. R. Swain of the University of Michigan to photograph it completely. Dr. Casey has not yet collated the whole manuscript, but a first inspection of the text is sufficient to prove that it is of extraordinary interest for the text of Athanasius and belongs to a different group from all other manuscripts which we have ever seen.

We have had no opportunity of comparing the text with that

of Dochiariou 78, for which we are waiting until the publication of Professor Lebon's edition, but judging from the description in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* there is no doubt in our minds that the Athens manuscript has the same text as Doch. 78; the only question is whether the Athens codex is not the direct archetype of that in Dochiariou.

The textual importance of the Athens manuscript is obviously great; it and Doch. 78 stand apart from all other Greek manuscripts.¹ Moreover, its evidence corroborates strikingly the results of the previous investigation, which seemed to point to S as the best of the Vulgate manuscripts of Athanasius. Where there are variants in the Vulgate text the Athens codex almost always agrees with S against the other manuscripts.

The variants of all the manuscripts which have as yet been collated for that section of the *De Incarnatione* contained in pp. 6-8 of Robertson's edition are sufficient to prove this.²

- 6.4 $\tau\acute{\iota} \alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\eta$ ἄλλο for $\tau\acute{\iota} \alpha\upsilon$ ἄλλο $\epsilon\iota\eta$ M
 6.5-6 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ for $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ Ath
 6.12 erasure betw. $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ B
 6.13 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ Ath
 6.15 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ C
 6.20 om \acute{o} $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ Ath
 6.21 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ for $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\kappa\epsilon$ Ath
 6.24 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ for $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ C
 7.1 om $\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$ Ath
 7.1 om $\mu\eta$ XANKBLJ
 7.1 $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ for $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ C
 7.6-8 $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\delta\upsilon\tau\alpha$. . . $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota$ bracketed in C
 7.7-8 om $\delta\upsilon\tau\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. . . $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota$ Ath
 7.8 $\delta\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ for $\delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ NX
 7.9 om $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ C

¹ An extended treatment of the Syriac version found in Vat. Syr. 104, possibly the most important witness to this recension, is to be expected from Professor Lebon.

² The unfamiliar symbols JMN stand respectively for Sorbonne Gr. 190, Bibliotheca Laurentiana Plut iv. Cod. XX, and Patmos 4. The Athens MS. often omits accents and even breathings. We have not recorded this in this collation.

- 7.9 τό for τοῦτο M
- 7.10 om μέν CB
- 7.11 θνητός ὁ ἄνθρωπος for ἄνθρωπος θνητός Ath
- 7.12 τὰ ὄντα for τὸν ὄντα NBL
- 7.12 τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν κατανοήσεως for τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κατανοήσεως Ath
- 7.12 ὁμοιώτητα C
- 7.12 ἄφθαρτος insert. in marg. pro ἦν C
- 7.13 om ἄν Ath
- 7.14 ἔμενεν for ἔμεινεν Ath
- 7.15 add δεῖ post προσοχή Ath
- 7.17 σημαίνει τοῦτο for τοῦτο σημαίνει Ath
- 7.18 ἔσται for ἔστε C
- 7.19 ἀποθνήσκειται corrected to ἀποθνήσκειτε Ath
- 7.20 erasure in middle of πίπτετε (read πί πτετε) N
- 7.24 om συμβουλία τοῦ διαβόλου Ath
- 7.26–27 ὡς προεῖπον post κατὰ φύσιν L
- 7.28 τὸ κατὰ φύσιν for τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν Ath
- 7.28 ἐκφεύγοντες for ἐκφυγόντες Ath
- 7.30 τούτοις for τούτων KCB
- 8.2 εἰκόνι for εἰκόνα N
- 8.2–3 add ἐποίησεν αὐτόν pro φθόνῳ K Ath
- 8.2 ιδιότητος for αἰδιότητος Ath
- 8.5 κατ' αὐτῶν λοιπὸν for λοιπὸν κατ' αὐτῶν Ath
- 8.7 ἔσω for ὅσω Ath
- 8.7 θεοῦ for θείου Ath
- 8.9 om καὶ before ἐν Ath
- 8.9 πλημελήμασιν K
- 8.11 ἄμετρα for ἄμετρον Ath
- 8.11 ἐξεληλύθασιν CB
- 8.12 om καὶ C
- 8.13 προσκαλεσάμενοι for προκαλεσάμενοι N [corrector]Ath
- 8.15 add ἐν pro ἐνὶ Ath

- 8.15 ὑπερβαλόντες for ὑπερβάλλοντες N
 8.16 κενὰ κενοῖς for καινὰ καινοῖς Ath
 8.17 om μὲν Ath
 8.23 διηρέϊτο for διήρητο Ath
 8.26 add καὶ pro ἀπόστολος Ath
 8.29 om ἐν Ath
 8.30 ἄρρεσι for ἄρσεσι XNCL

It will be seen that (1) there are 30 variants from S in Ath in this passage, and only 26 in all the other manuscripts put together; (2) Ath agrees but twice with any other manuscript against S. R 8.3 is the case of a biblical quotation, while in R 8.13 the change from *προ* . . . to *προς* . . . might easily have been made independently and, if unsupported by further evidence, is without significance.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Athens manuscript will be a most important factor in reconstructing the text of the Vulgate recension. The readings in which it and the Vulgate manuscripts agree must be the true Vulgate text, unless there is reason — which is apparently not the case — to suspect ‘crossing.’ Moreover, when this test is applied it is clear that S is the best Vulgate manuscript. No other manuscript or group of manuscripts is justified by the Athens manuscript as against S. The alternative to this view would be to assume that S is a thoroughly mixed manuscript, with more of the ‘Athens’ text than any other. But we do not think that anyone is likely to accept this view, which is not supported by any facts of grouping among the Vulgate manuscripts.

Thus the work of editing the text of the *De Incarnatione*, which threatened to resolve itself into a very complicated question of manuscript evidence, with no clearly defined criterion, has suddenly been reduced to the far simpler, though not necessarily easier, problem of deciding between the text of S and the text of the group represented by the Athens ms., Dochiariou 78, and Vat. Syr. 104. Which of these recensions is the true Athanasian text? This question will have to be settled principally on the basis of four passages in which the Athens text

and the Vulgate text differ completely. We have therefore thought it advisable to print these passages, and ask for the opinion of our *Fachgenossen* as to their meaning. They are as follows:

i. De Incarnatione, xviii, 1-2 (Robertson, pp. 26, 27-27, 5).

Text of S

λέγεται δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐσθίον καὶ τικτόμενον καὶ πάσχον, οὐχ ἑτέρου τινός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡν· καὶ ὅτι ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, ἔπρεπε καὶ ταῦτα ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγεσθαι, ἵνα ἀληθεῖα καὶ μὴ φαντασίᾳ σῶμα ἔχων φαίνεται. 2. Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων ἐγινώσκετο σωματικῶς παρὼν, οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὧν ἐποίει διὰ τοῦ σώματος, υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐγνώριζεν.

Text of Athens codex

φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς υἱὸς μονογενὴς οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἑαυτοῦ κατελίμπανεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀοράτοις ἀοράτως διὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν κτίσιν ἑαυτοῦ προνοίας ἐγινώσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις καταπερισσὸν διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐγνώριζεν τὸν πατέρα, τῇ τε θείᾳ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν ἐμφαίνων εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ii. De Incarnatione, xxi, 7-xxii, 1 (Robertson, pp. 32, 25-33, 15).

Text of S

7. Διὰ τί οὖν καὶ τὸν θάνατον ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν; ὅτι διὰ τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀπρεπὲς ἦν κωλύσαι· ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐμποδισθῇ· προηγήσασθαι μέντοι τοῦ θανάτου νόσον, ἀπρεπὲς πάλιν ἦν, ἵνα μὴ ἀσθένεια τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι νομισθῇ. οὐκ ἐπείνασεν οὖν; ναὶ ἐπείνασε διὰ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλ' οὐ λιμῷ διεφθάρη, διὰ τὸν φοροῦντα αὐτὸ Κύριον. διὰ τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἀπέθανε διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων λύτρον, ἀλλ' "οὐκ εἶδε διαφθοράν." ὁλόκληρον γὰρ ἀνέστη· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄλλον τινός, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς ἦν τὸ σῶμα.

Text of Athens codex

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἰδίῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ' ἑτέρων διδομένῳ θανάτῳ τὸ σῶμα προσενέγκειν. διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἐκρύβη τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἵνα καθόλου τὸν ναὸν ἀθάνατον φυλάξῃ; ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπρεπὲς ἦν τῷ κυρίῳ. οὐκ ἔπρεπε γὰρ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ ζωῇ ὄντι οὔτε τὸ [sic] σώματι αὐτοῦ θάνατον παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι, οὔτε τὸν παρ' ἑτέρων γινόμενον φεύγειν, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον διώκειν αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, ὅθεν εἰκότως οὔτε ἑαυτῷ ἀπέθετο τὸ σῶμα, οὐδὲ πάλιν

XXII. 'Αλλ' ἔδει, φήσειεν ἄν τις, κρυβῆναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα καθόλου τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἀθάνατον φυλάξῃ. ἀκούετω δὴ ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπρεπὲς ἦν τῷ Κυρίῳ· ὥς γὰρ οὐκ ἔπρεπε τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, ζωῇ ὄντι, τῷ σώματι ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι· οὕτως οὐχ ἤρμοζεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' ἐτέρων διδόμενον φεύγειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, διώκειν αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, ὅθεν εἰκότως οὔτε ἑαυτῷ ἀπέθετο τὸ σῶμα, οὔτε πάλιν ἐπιβουλευοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔφυγε.

ἐπιβουλευοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔφευγεν. ζωὴ γὰρ ὢν, οὐκ ἤφιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου βλαβῆναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηφαίνιζεν αὐτόν ἐν τῷ σώματι.

iii. De Incarnatione, xxiv, 3-xxvi, 1 (Robertson, pp. 36, 14-38, 18).

Text of S

... τοῦ δὲ θανάτου τὸ κράτος τέλεον καταργηθῇ. 4. Γέγονε γοῦν τι θαυμαστόν καὶ παράδοξον· ὃν γὰρ ἐνόμιζον ἄτιμον ἐπιφέρειν θάνατον, οὗτος ἦν τρόπαιον κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου· διὸ οὐδὲ τὸν Ἰωάννου θάνατον ὑπέμεινε, διαιρουμένης τῆς κεφαλῆς, οὐδὲ ὡς Ἡσαίας ἐπίσθη, ἵνα καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ὁλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα φυλάξῃ, καὶ μὴ πρόφασις τοῖς βουλομένοις διαιρεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γένηται.

XXV. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἑαυτοῖς λογισμοὺς ἐπισωρεύοντας· ἂν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν τις μὴ ὡς φιλόνηκος, ἀλλ' ὡς φιλομαθὴς ζητῇ· διὰ τί μὴ ἐτέρως, ἀλλὰ σταυρόν ὑπέμεινεν; ἀκούετω καὶ οὗτος ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ οὕτως ἡμῖν συνέφερε· καὶ

Text of Athens codex

... καὶ μηδεὶς ἔτι λοιπὸν ἀμφιβάλλῃ, εἰ κατήργηται τέλεον ὁ θάνατος καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκράτηκεν ἡ ζωὴ. δεινοῦ γὰρ ὄντος καὶ ἀτίμου θανάτου παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦτον προσήγον καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐδέχετο τοῦτον, ἵνα ἐν τούτῳ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσῃ, καὶ πιστευθῇ λοιπὸν καὶ τέλεον ἢ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένη νίκη. διὰ ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐ νόσφ, διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπὲς· οὐκ ἰδίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἀπίθανον· οὐχ ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπένοησεν θάνατον, διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀπίστων ὑπονοίας· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδέχετο τὸ σῶμα θάνατον. καὶ

[illegible]

τοῦτο δι' ἡμᾶς καλῶς ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Κύριος.

2. Εἰ γὰρ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην κατάραν ἦλθεν αὐτὸς βαστάσαι, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως ἐγένετο κατάρα, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ γενόμενον θάνατον ἐδέξατο; ἔστι δὲ οὗτος, ὁ σταυρός. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ γέγραπται: ἐπικατάρματος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. 3. "Ἐπειτα, εἰ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου λύτρον ἐστὶ πάντων, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τούτου " τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ " λύεται, καὶ γίνεται τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ κλήσις: πῶς ἂν ἡμᾶς προσεκαλέσατο, εἰ μὴ ἐσταύρωτο; ἐν μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκτεταμέναις χερσὶ τις ἀποθνήσκει. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο ἔπρεπεν ὑπομεῖναι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν, ἵνα τῇ μὲν τὸν παλαιὸν λαόν, τῇ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐλκύσῃ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐν

ὑψηλῶς καὶ ἐπηρμένως ἐσταυρούτο, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσιν φανερωθέντος φανερά πᾶσιν καὶ ἡ τούτου ἀνάστασις διαβοηθῇ καὶ πιστευθῇ. πᾶσιν³ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν ἀπέθνησκει, εἶχεν δὲ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τὴν πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ συνοικήσαντος αὐτῷ λόγου. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκοντος τοῦ σώματος ἐνεκροῦτο καὶ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἦν (sic) μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀθάνατος, οἷα δὴ θεοῦ λόγος ὑπάρχων, συνὼν δὲ τῷ σώματι, μᾶλλον διεκώλυεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τῶν σωμάτων φθοράν, ἣ φησιν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς αὐτὸν: οὐ δώσεις τὸ νῦσίον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. τὸ μὲν οὖν

³ This passage, as is pointed out by Lebon, is quoted as an extract from the *De Incarnatione* by Theodoret and by Leontius of Byzantium. The text of Theodoret is as follows: — Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου. Πᾶσιν μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν ἀπέθνησκει· εἶχε δὲ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τὴν πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνοικήσαντος αὐτῷ Λόγου. Οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκοντος τοῦ σώματος ἐνεκροῦτο καὶ ὁ Λόγος· ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀθάνατος, οἷα δὴ θεοῦ Λόγος ὑπάρχων, συνὼν δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ σώματι, διεκώλυεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τῶν σωμάτων φθοράν, ἣ φησι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς αὐτόν· "Οὐ δώσεις τὸν νοῦν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν." (Migne, P. G., lxxxiii, col. 296.)

The text of Leontius is apparently not extant in Greek, but the Latin leaves no room for doubt as to the identity of the passage. It runs as follows: — *Patiens quidem corpus propter naturam corporum mortuum est; habebat autem fidem incorruptibilitatis ex Verbo habitante in eo: non enim mortuo corpore immoriebatur Verbum, sed erat ipsum incorruptibile et impassibile et immortale, utpote Dei Verbum. Immo vero quia erat in corpore, prohibebat eum a corruptione secundum naturam corporum, sicut ait illi Spiritus: "Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem"* (Gallandius, *Bibl. Vet. Patr. Graec. Lat.*, xii, p. 683).

It is also found in Fr. 86 of the *Sermo maior de fide*. Cf. E. Schwartz, "Der sogenannte *Sermo maior de fide* des Athanasius," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 1924. 6. *Abhandlung*. Munich 1925, pp. 34, 39; and J. Lebon, "Le *sermo maior de fide pseudo-athanasien*," *Le Muséon*, xxxviii, p. 260.

It is obvious that if the Athens manuscript represented a doctrinal revision it is very unlikely to have been used both by Theodoret and by Leontius.

ἐαυτῷ συνάψῃ. 4. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἔμελλε λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς πάντας· “ὅταν ὑψωθῶ, πάντας ἐλκίσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν.” 5. Καὶ πάλιν εἰ ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διάβολος, ἐκπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ὠδε κάτω πλανᾶται, κάκεῖ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διαμόνων ὡς ὁμοίων ἐν τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ ἐξουσιάζων, φαντασίας μὲν δι’ αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ τοῖς ἀπατωμένοις ἐπιχειρεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἀνερχομένοις ἐμποδίζει· καὶ περὶ τούτου φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος· “κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργούντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.” ἦλθε δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἵνα τὸν μὲν διάβολον καταβάλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα καθαρίσῃ, καὶ ὁδοποιήσῃ ἡμῖν τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, “διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τουτέστι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.” τοῦτο δὲ ἔδει γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦ θανάτου· ποίῳ δ’ ἂν ἄλλῳ θανάτῳ ἐγεγόνει ταῦτα, ἢ τῷ ἐν ἀέρι γενομένῳ, φημὶ δὴ τῷ σταυρῷ; μόνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τις ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ σταυρῷ τελειούμενος. διὸ καὶ εἰκότως τοῦτον ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Κύριος. 6. Οὕτω γὰρ ὑψωθείς, τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ἐκαθάριζεν ἀπὸ τε τῆς διαβολικῆς καὶ πάσης τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλῆς λέγων· “Ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν περόντα.” τὴν δὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον ὁδοποιῶν ἐνεκαίνιζε λέγων πάλιν “Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι.” οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος ἦν ὁ χρήζων ἀνοίξεως τῶν

σῶμα ἄτε δὴ σῶμα ὃν ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐνεκροῦτο τῇ τοῦ λόγου θελήσει, αὐτὸς δὲ θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ λόγος ὢν. καὶ τῶν πάντων αὐτὸς ζωὴ οὐδ’ οὕτως κτλ.

πυλῶν, πάντων Κύριος ὢν· οὐδὲ κλεισμένον ἦν τι τῶν ποιημάτων τῷ ποιητῇ· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἡμεν οἱ χρήζοντες, οὓς ἀνέφερεν αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος αὐτοῦ. Ὡς γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτὸ προσήνεγκε τῷ θανάτῳ οὕτως δι' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ὥδοποίησε τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνοδον.

XXVI. Πρέπων οὖν ἄρα καὶ ἀρμόζων ὁ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ γέγονε θάνατος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· καὶ ἡ αἰτία τούτου εὐλογος ἐφάνη κατὰ πάντα, καὶ δικαίους ἔχει τοὺς λογισμούς, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλως ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔδει γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν πάντων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' οὕτως κτλ.

iv. De Incarnatione, xxvi, 22 (Robertson, p. 39, 22-39, 25).

Text of S

καὶ ἀνεδείχθη πᾶσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσθενεία φύσεως τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος Λόγου τέθνηκεν τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐξαφανισθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Σωτῆρος.

Text of Athens codex

καὶ ἀνεδείχθη πᾶσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσθενεία φύσεως τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος Λόγου τέθνηκεν τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐξαφανισθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Σωτῆρος. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐκ ἦν ἀμφίβολον τὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνεργοῦντα καὶ περιπολοῦντα μὴ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀλλὰ θεὸν λόγον καὶ τῶν πάντων τὴν ζωὴν. τῶν δὲ τηλικούτων κατορθωμάτων οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἀλλ' ἐναργής ἐστιν ἡ πίστις.

It is clear that these variants represent deliberate editing, and to us it seems that three hypotheses are tenable.

(1) The Vulgate text is the original, and the Athens text is a later recension, possibly Apollinarian. Against this hypothesis the fact that Theodoret and Leontius used the Athens text

seems to us to weigh very heavily, and we regard it tentatively as the least probable view, but we are inclined to think that, had the Athens been known in the days when it was maintained that the *De Incarnatione* was a work of Apollinarius, probably considerable use would have been made of it.⁴

(2) The Athens text is original and the Vulgate text is a later (Nicene or Chalcedonian?) revision. Against this is the fact that there is nothing in the Vulgate text which would support so late a recension.

(3) Both texts are Athanasian. Probably the Athens text is the first edition and the Vulgate the second. This is the view which we are inclined to adopt, unless other scholars can point out linguistic or doctrinal reasons against either version. At present we can see none. It is almost superfluous to remark that there is no *a priori* reason against this theory in view of the recognized three and probably four editions of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius, but the relation of the question to the origin of the 'corpora' of Athanasian writings is a further problem on which we have at present no light.

⁴ Cf. for example § 16.1 (Robertson, p. 24, 3-10): ἅπαξ γὰρ εἰς αἰσθητὰ πεσοῦσης τῆς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν διὰ σώματος φανῆναι ὁ λόγος ἵνα μετενέγκῃ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις αὐτῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκλίνῃ, καὶ λειπὸν ἐκείνους ὡς ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν ὁρῶντας, δι' ὧν ἐργάζεται ἔργων, πείσῃ μὴ εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ λόγον καὶ σοφίαν, where Ath reads . . . πείσῃ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ λόγον καὶ σοφίαν.

ANCIENT GEORGIAN VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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ONE of the most important questions in ancient Georgian literature has to do with the old Georgian versions of the Bible. The problems in this field are very complex. Not only is the history of the translation of the Old Testament entirely distinct from that of the New, but in each of them the translations were made by various hands from different languages and different types of text.

The following article grew out of an investigation undertaken upon one manuscript of the Old Testament, which proved to be of minor importance for a reconstruction of the Old Testament text, but throws much light on the history of old Georgian literature in general.¹ The codex, or what remains of it, is now in the library of the Georgian State University at Tiflis, and bears the number 1. (In this article it is designated by the letter U.) The discovery of the manuscript was announced by the Georgian scholar, Th. D. Žordania (ob. 1916), who in the second volume of his *Chronicles* (1897) said that he had found it at Kutais, in Western Georgia.² Of the manuscript itself, however, nothing further was known³ until in 1917 it was turned over to the Georgian University by Žordania's son along with some other manuscripts which had been in his father's possession.

¹ The present article is a revision of an earlier one in Russian, in the *Извѣстія Кавказскаго Отдѣленія Московскаго Археологическаго Общества*, Выпускъ VI, Тифлисъ 1921 г., entitled "О древнегрузинскихъ версіяхъ Ветхаго Заветъа (по поводу Codex Z'ordaniae грузинскаго университета)", pp. 1-40. The article was printed after the author had left the Caucasus, and ensuing political developments made the last revision of text and proof impossible.

² For Žordania's account of his discovery and description of the codex, see below, pp. 296, 297.

³ To all inquiries Žordania replied that he did not know what had become of it, and the investigations of Professor N. Marr, Father Kekelidze, and others proved fruitless.

After my arrival in the Caucasus, by the kindness of my friend, Professor A. G. Shanidze, the librarian of the University, I was able to examine it. Some observations, early made, led me to doubt Žordania's statement about its provenience. I noticed that the signatures of the quaternions were placed at the side of the page in the lower part of the outer margin of the last leaf, a peculiarity which had attracted my attention in a number of manuscripts in the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum from the library of the monastery at Gelat'i. In the summer of 1919 Father Korneli Kekelidze found, in a heap of fragments in the library of Gelat'i, some leaves containing parts of the Old Testament with scholia. He thereupon went carefully through the whole pile, and found a small piece of one of the leaves of Žordania's codex, and also pieces from the same manuscript of the Nomocanon of Euthymius the Athonite which we already had. Thus Žordania's statement that his codex came from Kutais was disproved.

The other fragments discovered by Kekelidze were written on white paper, 31×20 cm., in a very careless and illegible *mḱhedruli* (warrior) hand of the end of the eighteenth century, and were evidently copied from our manuscript. The scribe obviously had difficulty in deciphering it, and many of his leaves were only partially written out. I was not able to identify all the passages, but it is probable that at the time the transcript was made the codex was practically complete in the Octateuch, as the beginning of Leviticus is preserved. The leaves identified contained

No. 1. Leviticus 2, 2 ff. No. 9. Deuteronomy 1, 1 ff.

No. 5. Joshua 1, 1-2. No. 10. Leviticus 1, 1 ff.

No. 6. Numbers 26, 22 ff.

There are nineteen leaves in all. Whether these leaves are what Žordania refers to when he speaks of a "second one of the same type," is uncertain, but I am inclined to doubt it.

The fragment of codex U proved to be a bit of Leviticus 13, 2-12, from the leaf which precedes f. 7 (1) in the present order of the manuscript.

The codex itself is in very bad condition, having suffered

greatly from age, moisture, and ill treatment. From the point of view of palaeography it falls into two parts widely diverse both in content and external form, although, I believe, from the hand of the same scribe. In the first part (Leviticus to Ruth inclusive), the biblical text is in a bold hand, while the script of the commentary is smaller. The latter is very extensive, sometimes occupying the whole page. The various paragraphs of the scholia have headings in red which have suffered more than the text, and in many cases have wholly faded out. The biblical text, as will be shown below, bears indisputable marks of the scholastic movement, and is entirely different from the printed text of the Georgian Bible (Moscow edition of 1743).⁴ In the Prophets, however, the hand of the text is smaller, being about the size of that of the scholia in the Octateuch. In this part of the codex there is only occasionally a brief scholion on the margins, which are for the most part blank. The text of the Prophets is almost letter for letter that of the Moscow Bible.

In the second part of the codex, the text is written in one column (as is likewise the case in the first part where the scholia in the margin do not crowd it too much), with forty lines to the page. The script itself is of a peculiar type. Properly speaking, it is a cross between the ordinary *nuskha-khutsuri*, or ecclesiastical minuscule, and the *młchedruli*, or warrior hand. The first element, however, is the dominant one. What sharply distinguishes it from the usual minuscule of that period is the evident intention of the scribe to dash off a whole word without raising his pen from the paper. Some of the letters closely approach the *młchedruli* characters in form, especially, *g*, *ē* (*ey*), *m*, *z*; *p*' resembles a Greek *φ* and is not infrequently ligatured with a following *e* or *i*; Greek influence is unmistakable in the general character of the script.⁵ The letters *b*, *g*, *t*', *i*, *l*, *γ*, all have an ornamental dash on their left, exactly like the usual printed *khutsuri*. This type of hand is not infrequently met with in adscriptions, but rarely forms the basic script of a

⁴ Hereafter designated by the letter M.

⁵ It is clear that the aim to write in connected cursive, which is foreign to the older Georgian mss., arose from the influence of the contemporary Greek minuscule hand.

complete codex.⁶ Adscriptions in later hands are almost wholly lacking.

The Prophets, as Žordania correctly remarks,⁷ are divided into chapters and verses by a hand of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Here and there in the first part the chapters are marked by the same scribe, but no verse division is there introduced. The initial word of each verse in the Prophets is designated by a small circle placed over it. In some passages in the Prophets the text has been altered, for the most part by the addition of cola, a point to which we shall return below. The ink is dark reddish brown and of poor quality. The headings are not written in cinnabar, but with the juice of the Caucasian sloe (*kizil*). Both headings and text have suffered severely from dampness, and in many places the text is hard to decipher. The paper is of an oriental type, soft, un-sized, and browned by age.⁸ The leaves measure 376 × 272 mm.⁹ The codex in general bears all the earmarks of being a scholar's hand copy. Cheap paper, elaborate commentaries, Hellenizing script, all point to a poor but learned monk as its possessor. The difference in external appearance is peculiarly striking when one compares the luxurious tomes which come from Constantinople and from Athos, whose parchment, ink, and script are of the highest quality.

The manuscript bears upon f. 7 (1^r) a note in Georgian in the hand of T'. Žordania that it consists of 338 folia. The greater part of the leaves preserved bear numbers in the hand of this scholar; but his enumeration, as we shall see below, involves us in difficulties. The loose leaves were marked by him completely at haphazard, and it took several days of incessant labor to

⁶ E.g., the adscription of the Abbot Paul of Iveron (s. XII *fin.*) in 'at'onis iveriis monastiris 1074 c. *khelt'naceri krebuli*,' Tiflis 1901, p. 274, No. 167. A hand of the same type, but more conventionalized, occurs in Cod. Eccl. Mus. 677 (s. XII); other examples are to be found in the codices at Jerusalem.

⁷ Žordania, *k'ronikebi*, II, p. 39.

⁸ Similar paper appears in ms. Eccl. Mus. 676 (s. XIII; Josephus), also from Gelat'i.

⁹ There are clear traces that at a fairly remote period the ms. was repaired and brought into order. The outer leaves which had been torn away were glued into place by long strips of whitish paper. At this time the quaternions were sewn together and possibly re-marked. (On this see below, p. 275.)

bring them into order. The ultimate results of this effort are as follows:

1. It appeared that among the loose leaves about ten were from the Octateuch, particularly from Leviticus and Numbers. The better part of a quaternion was reconstructed at the beginning of the sewn leaves, containing Leviticus 7, 19-11, 24 and 13, 2-10.¹⁰ Three leaves from the commencement of Numbers, containing 2, 1-34 and 4, 30-5, 19, filled up an imperfect quaternion in that book. In addition there is a small and badly damaged fragment of which only the ends of the lines and part of the commentary are preserved. It is clear that it forms part of the story of Balaam, but as similar expressions are repeated several times in the course of the episode, I can only conjecturally refer it to Numbers 23, 4-7.¹¹

2. With the exception of the folia above mentioned, the remainder of the text of Leviticus from verse 13, 15 onward and up to the end of Ruth, has come down to us in a continuous sequence of quaternions, still held together by the stitching, with the exception of the first six, and of the last (the twenty-fifth), which have worked loose from the rest. At the time when the sewing was done, the leaves, which had presumably got into disorder, were marked in red (cinnabar) at the bottom of the page in *mchedruli* (possibly in the seventeenth century), with the number of the leaf in the quaternion. The lower part of the leaves has suffered from damp more than the upper, in consequence of which not all the quaternion signatures have been preserved.¹² The contents of the book are as follows:

(a) Leviticus 13, 15 to the end, folia 1^r-31^r.

(b) Numbers 1, 1 to the end, folia 31^r-85^v. The commen-

¹⁰ The last leaf of this group (f. 6/286) is only a fragment, and the bit found at Gelat'i (see above, p. 272) forms a part of it.

¹¹ The numbers of the leaves in their present order have now been put on in red crayon.

¹² The first original quaternion signature preserved is that of the sixth quaternion in the present state of the ms. which is marked ē (= 8). Thus two gatherings have perished at the beginning, and the ms. must have begun with Leviticus. Quaternion signatures are preserved as far as iē = 18 (f. 129^v). If a similar text for Genesis and Exodus ever existed, it must have formed a separate volume. I was able to find no trace of quaternion signatures in the Prophets.

tary covers part of the next page, and the folium following that is blank.

(c) Deuteronomy 1, 1 to the end, folia 92^r-148^r.

(d) Joshua 1, 1 to the end, folia 148^r-171^r.

(e) Judges 1, 1 to the end, folia 172^r-197^r.

(f) Ruth 1, 1 to the end, folia 197^v-202^r. The text on the last page is written in cruciform shape, and fol. 202^v is left blank. The total number of leaves preserved in this part of the manuscript is 204.¹³

3. Prophets. There is nothing to show whether the middle part of the Bible, 1 Kings (Samuel) to Sirach inclusive, originally formed part of our codex. All of the leaves preserved, however, belong to the prophetic writings, which were once complete. Whether the minor prophets preceded or followed the major, we cannot say. Within these groups we can in some cases determine the order. Thus, after Jeremiah comes Baruch; after Hosea, Joel; after Jonah, Micah; after Micah, Habakkuk; after Habakkuk, Zephaniah; after Zephaniah, Haggai. Nothing of Lamentations or of Malachi is extant, but they were undoubtedly originally included. No trace of Daniel is extant.

(a) From Isaiah the following passages are preserved: 22, 22-24, 5 (badly damaged); 29, 12-32, 13; 45, 24 to the end (ff. 206 to 222); leaves 213 to 222 are sewn together in the wrong order.

(b) From Jeremiah: 15, 9-25, 13; 49, 34-47;¹⁴ 25, 14-28, 11; 45, 37-47, 5; 48, 14-17; 49, 1-26; 50, 1-52, 34 (ff. 223 to 244).

(c) From Baruch: 1, 1-4, 17. (Ff. 244 to 247.)

(d) From Ezekiel: 1, 1-5, 15; 7, 8-8, 4; 17, 18-23, 10; 24, 11-30, 5; 32, 7-43, 17. (Ff. 248 to 277.)

(e) From the Minor Prophets:

(i) Hosea. 14, 6-10; preface to Joel. (F. 278.)

(ii) Joel. 2, 7-4, 21. (Ff. 279 to 280.)

(iii) Amos. Preface; 1, 1-2, 12; 4, 8-7, 4. (Ff. 281 to 284.)

¹³ The variation in the total arises from two imperfect leaves.

¹⁴ In Jeremiah this text follows the Greek order and enumeration of verses, which is not the case with the other version (in O). In M the Hebrew order is followed, and the text has been accordingly rearranged.

- (iv) Obadiah. 1, 21-31; preface to Jonah. (F. 285.)
- (v) Jonah. Preface; 1, 1-2, 1; 4, 8-11. (Ff. 285 to 286.)
- (vi) Micah. Preface; 1, 11-5, 2. (Ff. 287 to 289.)
- (vii) Nahum. Preface; 1, 1-2, 6; 3, 3-19. (Ff. 290 to 291.)
- (viii) Habakkuk. Preface; 3, 3-19, and colophon. (Ff. 291 to 292.)
- (ix) Zephaniah. Preface; 1, 1-3, 20 (complete). (Ff. 293 to 295.)
- (x) Haggai. Preface only. (F. 295).
- (xi) Zechariah. 1, 12-3, 2; 5, 2 7, 7. (Ff. 296-298.)

4. Fragments not belonging to the Bible (twelve in all).

(a) One leaf of the same paper (not numbered), written in *khutsuri* in two columns in a hand of the fourteenth-fifteenth century, containing a fragment of a homily.

(b) One leaf of a different paper in a hand similar to the above with a liturgical text accompanied by a commentary (not numbered).

(c) Four leaves (Nos. 86, 87, 88, 90 of Žordania's enumeration) on the same paper as the biblical text, but written in a square *khutsuri* hand of the thirteenth-fourteenth century with hagiographical texts.

(d) Two leaves of paper of a better quality in angular *khutsuri* ('gothic') of the seventeenth century (not numbered). One of these bears a note on the margin in Žordania's hand: Life of St. Akakios; Life of St. Jacob.

(e) Four leaves on the same paper and by the same hand as the scribe of the text, but written in different ink. They are numbered 309, 307, 310, and 330, and contain the canons of the sixth oecumenical council in the version of St. Euthymius the Athonite.¹⁵ The ink here is black.

The total number of leaves at the present time is 313. The question thus arises, What has become of the other 25 leaves which should be there according to Žordania's statement? One leaf (No. 337) was in fact found later on among the papers of the deceased scholar, but the rest are lacking. Two almost com-

¹⁵ See above, p. 272.

plete decades (311-319, 320-329) are missing; the others are wanting here and there. It is of course a natural supposition that some errors were made during the process of numbering, but the margin of difference is too great for us to ascribe it merely to carelessness. We can only draw the regrettable conclusion that a considerable number of the loose leaves have disappeared.

The entire manuscript was photographed by Mrs. R. P. Blake in the spring of 1922, and the prints now form part of the J. P. Morgan, Jr., Collection of Manuscript Photographs in the Library of Harvard University.

The catena accompanying the text of the Octateuch naturally attracted my interest. An analysis of it undertaken at the time showed that by far the greatest amount of material was taken from the writings of Cyril and Theodoret; then came Eusebius and Severus, with John Chrysostom in the fifth place. To establish the authorship of the catena was impossible at Tiflis, but investigations undertaken at Cambridge showed very soon that we have to do with the ordinary commentary on the Octateuch, the so-called catena Nicephori.¹⁶ Both the scholia and the text are clearly based upon it, although the Georgian translator has added not a few short notes of his own. I now feel fairly certain that the catena on the Octateuch was not translated into Georgian by Ephrem Mcire, and am inclined to believe that it is by the same hand which translated the biblical text.¹⁷ Meanwhile, however, Professor Korneli Kekelidze has succeeded in unsnarling the confused and perplexing tradition which attaches to the Georgian translator and philosopher John Petriçi and his school. Though his results are far from final, the following points are now clear: John Petriçi and John Çimçimeli are two distinct persons. John Petriçi lived approxi-

¹⁶ On this catena, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*², p. 213. The catena was edited by Nicephorus Hieromonachus at Leipzig in 1772.

¹⁷ In the original draft of this article I included a long analysis of the catena. After receiving the photographs of the ms., however, I copied out the Book of Judges and, with the assistance of Professor G. F. Moore, established that the text of this book in the Georgian version of U was the same as that of the catena Nicephori. I have accordingly omitted that analysis in the present article.

mately from 1060 to 1125; John Čimčimeli was alive in the year 1212, when he delivered the funeral oration at the bier of Queen Tamara. John Čimčimeli was interested in exegetical literature, and translated the commentary of Theophylact of Bulgaria on Mark and Luke; also that of Metrophanes of Smyrna and Olympiodorus upon Ecclesiastes. Although the attribution of the latter work to him is not absolutely certain, Kekelidze has made it fairly evident upon stylistic grounds that the author of the translation of Metrophanes and that of the commentary on Mark is one and the same. He made a comparison of the Georgian text of Olympiodorus with that of the printed Greek which brought out certain variations; these may either be recensional or due to the translator, so that the presence of additional scholia by the hand of the Georgian author in our manuscript need not surprise us. One further point which may be noted here is the fact that the punctuation in the manuscript follows in general the system laid down by Ephrem Mcire, with the addition of a semi-circular hyphen beneath the line to connect compound words, which Kekelidze has shown to be characteristic of the work of John Petriçi and his followers.¹⁸ In fine, then, I am inclined to attribute the translation both of text and catena to John Čimčimeli or to one of his contemporaries and followers.

We must now turn our attention to the text of the Octateuch as we find it in U. For purposes of comparison I copied out the book of Ruth and compared it with all the other Georgian MSS then accessible to me. These were:

(1) Cod. Athous Iveron Geor. 1 (978 A.D.) = O, unfortunately not in the original, but in a bad modern copy of the years 1851 to 1854, now Cod. Eccl. Mus. 471 = O.

(2) Cod. Eccl. Mus. 51 from Mtskhet' (s. XVIII med.) = C.

(3) Cod. 885 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVIII med.) = F. This ms. is very closely akin to C, but is carelessly written and has many omissions.

(4) The printed Georgian Bible in the Moscow edition of 1743 = M.

¹⁸ See Professor Cornelius Kekelidze, *Commentarii in Ecclesiastem Metrophanis, Metropolitae Smyrnensis*, Tiflis 1920, *Introd.* pp. lv ff.

The text of U has hitherto been completely unknown, and represents an isolated type of version. It is not revised from the older text, but is a direct translation from the Greek, executed in the spirit of the extreme scholastic movement. Readableness and intelligibility are ruthlessly sacrificed to literal exactness. New and peculiar Grecisms are met with at every step, while Georgian syntax is often dislocated through the effort of the translator to leave unaltered the Greek construction he imitates.

I adduce first of all some examples of literal translations:

| Vs. | COM | RUTH | |
|------|---|--|---------------------------|
| | | U | LXX |
| 1.1 | huriastanisayt' (-sit' C) from the Hebrew (land) | iudaysit' from Judea | τῆς ἰουδα |
| 1.1 | sop'elsa country | velsa field | ἐν ἀγρῶ |
| 1.2 | k'ueqanasa land | velsa field | εἰς ἀγρόν |
| 1.6 | micemad naqop'isa to give fruit | micemad pursa (as in Greek) | δοῦναι . . . ἄρτους |
| 1.8 | mivedit' go! (pl.) | ukumivik'cet' let us turn back | ἀποστράφητε |
| 1.12 | çarvedit' depart (pl.) | miik'ecit' return (pl.) | ἐπιστράφητε |
| 1.12 | arγara šemdzlebul var me k'mrisa sumad no longer able am I to have a husband | ara ars čem t'ana dzali rayt'a vik'mne me k'mrisad there is not with me the power that I become a man's | τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ |
| 1.15 | moquasisasa comrade | t'ana-sdzalman fellow daughter-in-law | σύννυμφος |
| 1.15 | iqop'odi, viqop'odi thou wert, I was | daivano, davivano that thou inhabitest, that I inhabit | αὐλισθῆς, αὐλισθήσομαι |
| 1.21 | boroti miqo me evil me did he | ganborota he 'evilled' | ἐκάκωσεν |
| 2.5 | čabuki O, 'youth' čabuka CM and Sulkhan Orbeli- ani, s.v. young woman | čabukidi youth (fem.) i.e. maiden | παιδάριον |
| 2.6 | dedakaci OM k'ali C mulier femina | qrmadi lassie | νεάνις |
| 2.12 | p'erḳht'a feet | p'rt'et'a wings | πτέρυγας |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 2.14 šeusuara he heaped up for her | šeuboreua he 'hilled' up for her | ἐβούνισεν |
| 2.23 iqop'oda frequentabat | dajda he sat | ἐκάθισεν |
| 3.11 nat'esavman relative | tomman family | φυλή |
| 3.12 nat'esav ut supra | sasumeli (see below, p. 285) | ἀγχιστεύς |

In general the Greek manuscript which the translator of U followed seems to have been fairly close to the ordinary text of the Septuagint. It is hard to say in some cases whether the variants noted between U and the Septuagint arose from differences in the Greek archetype or from the desire to reproduce merely the general sense of the Greek text. Thus we observe in certain instances omissions in U contrary to the LXX.¹⁹

| RUTH | | | |
|------|--|---|------------------------------|
| Vs. | COM | U | LXX |
| 1.18 | esret' mislvad mis t'ana thus until the coming with her | > | τοῦ πορεύεσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς |
| 1.18 | mierit'gan (after ἐκόπασεν) from now on | > | ἔτι (at end of vs.) |
| 2.3 | šekriba t'avi gathered the ear(s) | > | συνέλεξεν |

The most striking difference in style between the two Georgian versions lies in the fact that in U the translator employed participial constructions on a large scale. In the 'classical' period of old Georgian literature (to 1050 A.D.) participles were employed: (1) as substantives in the rôle of subjects in main clauses; (2) as adjectives in dependence upon other substantives. Georgian writers, however, except in scholastic texts, carefully avoid the Greek (or Armenian) constructions in which the participle replaces a personal form of the verb and forms an independent part of the sentence, e.g., εἰπὼν ἀπεκρίνατο, or the genitive absolute, where the idea expressed by the participle stands in a certain relation to the main clause, e.g., τῶν θεῶν ἐπαινέσαντων ἀπέπελευσεν Ὀδυσσεύς. Imitations of the geni-

¹⁹ I cannot gather any ms. evidence for these omissions from A. Rahlfs, *Das Buch Ruth griechisch* (Stuttgart 1922), and presume they are only errors in U.

tive absolute, it is true, are met with in certain literal translations of the earlier period, but they are rare.²⁰ In U, however, we find the participial construction at every turn:

| Vs. | COM | RUTH | |
|------|---|---|--|
| | | U | LXX |
| 1.22 | movides they came | mok'ceuli having turned | ἐπιστρέφουσα |
| 2.3 | da movida and he came | mosruli having come | ἐλθοῦσα (A) |
| 2.6 | romeli movida who came | mok'ceuli having turned | ἀποστραφεῖσα |
| 2.15 | da amcno boos monat'a t'üst'a da hrk'ua and Boaz charged his servants and said | da amcno boosman qrmata t'üst'a metqueylman and Boaz charged his servants saying | καὶ ἐνετείλατο Βόος τοῖς παι- δαρίοις αὐτοῦ λέγων |
| 2.18 | da gamoi-γo rut' da misca and took it forth Ruth and gave | mimart'umelman rut'man misca having taken it forth Ruth gave | καὶ ἐξείγκασα Ῥοῦθ ἔδωκεν |
| 4.4 | da hrk'ua mas miuge and spoke to her, etc. | metqueylman moige speaking, etc. | λέγων κτῆσαι etc. |

In his attempt to keep as close as possible to the Greek text, the translator uses such expressions and coins new phrases such as are never used in Georgian texts of the earlier period. Words occur which are clearly modelled on Greek forms; idiomatic turns of speech peculiar to the Greek are verbally reproduced in Georgian guise. It is clear that the translator completely cast aside the older version and bent all his energies toward reproducing the Greek text with literal exactitude. For example:

| Vs. | COM | RUTH | |
|------|---|--|--|
| | | U | LXX |
| 1.7 | mier k'ueqnit' from (there) from the land | adgilit' sada i qo mun from that place where she was there | ἐκ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἦν ἐκεῖ |
| 1.10 | mivedit' | ukmivik'cet' | ἐπιστρέφομεν |
| 1.12 | vit'armed semdzlebel var γa k'mrisi sumad | vit'arca cem t'ana ars dzali rayt'a vik'mne me k'mrisad | ὅτι ἔστιν μοι ὑπ- όστασις τοῦ γενη- θῆναι με ἀνδρί |

²⁰ They are met with, for instance, in the commentary of Hippolytus on the Song of Solomon (p. 24, ll. 38/39 of text) aha lodisa mis çarmogorvebulisa; see N. Marr, The Commentary of Hippolytus on the Song of Songs, St. Petersburg 1901, pp. liv f.

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1.15 moquasi | t'anasdzlisa | σύννυμφος |
| 1.19 da movides bet'lemad and they came to Bethlehem | vidre moslvadmde bet'lemad until their coming to Bethle- hem | ἕως τοῦ παραγε- νέσθαι αὐτὰς εἰς Βαιθλέεμ |
| 1.22 moabeli | moabiṭi (in other cases moabeli) | Μωαβεῖτις |
| 2.5 monasa | qrmasa | παιδαρίω |
| 2.5 čabuki O čabuka CM | čabukidi | νεᾶνις |

The effort of the translator to reproduce literally appears also in the orthography of Hebrew proper names and of geographical appellations. These are literally transcribed, which gives them a somewhat peculiar physiognomy. Consonants are doubled, which is completely against all the laws of Georgian phonetics, and the same is true of vowels. It is necessary to observe, however, that the orthography of the ms. is not consistent in this regard. Moreover, the translator does not adopt the mediaeval pronunciation of certain Greek letters; thus β is *b* and not *v*, which latter orthography is found in some late translations from the Greek, such as ms. 60 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum (Letters of St. Nilus), where $\gamma = gh$, etc.

Another mark of the language of this school is that the writer endeavors to translate schematically the tenses of Greek verbal forms. In the older translations great confusion reigns in this matter, arising from the fact that old Georgian (and to a certain extent the modern tongue as well) does not make a sharp temporal distinction in verbal forms, but divides them according to the completeness and incompleteness of the action, as do the Semitic languages:

| | | RUTH | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Vs. | COM | U | LXX |
| 1.9 | mogagen subj. pres. | mogces subj. past | δῶη |
| 1.9 | tirodes imperfect | itires aorist | ἐκλανσαν |
| 1.16 | viqop'odi imperfect | daivano future | αὐλισθήσομαι |
| 1.20 | nu mrk'ut' aorist imperative | nu micodt' present imperative | μὴ δὴ καλεῖτε |

The scholastic character of the language is also evident in the fact that Hebrew proper names, which are usually indeclinable in Georgian, here have the suffix of the dative pronominal case (-*man*). Nothing of the sort is found in COM. There is also observable a tendency to represent Greek particles by Georgian words, which begins to some extent in the works of the Athonite translators, but is especially strongly developed among the scholastics:

| | | RUTH | |
|----------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Vs. | COM | U | LXX |
| 3.1, 3 | > | kholo | δέ |
| 3.2 | egera <i>lđou</i> | aç ara | νῦν οὐχί |
| 1.5 | orni ve | iginica orni ve | καὶ γε ἀμφοτέροι |
| 1.15 | aha egera en tibi | aha en | lđou |
| 1.16 | sada | vidre quoad | ὅπου ἐάν |
| 1.8, 2.2 | δὴ is not translated | | |

From the lexical point of view our text is rather curious. Along with the Grecisms and new coinages which we have discussed above, there are a whole series of variations from the older text, which are interesting in themselves, and will become more so when we possess a good collection of materials for Georgian stylistics:

| | | RUTH | |
|-----------|--|---|------------------|
| Vs. | COM | U | LXX |
| 1.7 | dzis colni | sdzalni | νύμφας |
| et passim | wives of son | daughters-in-law | |
| 2.2 | nat'esavisagan from the tribe | nat'esavobisa from the tribal complex | |
| 2.11 | gušin da dzoγan yesterday and (the day) before | gušinit'gan da mesamet' from yesterday and the third (days) | ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης |
| 2.14 | ert' kerdzo one side | mguardit' from the flank | ἐκ πλαγίων |
| 2.17 | gamoçmidna she purified | ganargna she winnowed | ἐράβδισεν |
| 2.22 | gankhüed thou goest | hvle thou wentest | ἐπορεύθης |
| 2.22 | mokhüed go thou | šgact'uneben šen they deceive thee (error in Greek for ἀπατήσονται) | ἀπαντήσονται |

| | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---|-----------|
| 3.9 | nat'esavi tribe, relative | sasumeli ²¹ relative (not by blood) | ἀγγιστεῖς |
|-----|------------------------------|---|-----------|

While I was engaged in the study of this ms. I discovered that it is not the only extant representative of its type, as first seemed to be the case. We do not know what became of the other manuscript of the same kind which Žordania mentions. During the investigation I naturally paid particular attention to the Tiflis copy²² of the Athos codex O, as representing the most ancient of the surviving mss of this part of the Bible. Unfortunately, however, the photographs of that manuscript which were taken by the Russian Academy of Sciences were not available in Tiflis. It was from the Dadiani²³ copy of the Athos ms. that A. A. Tsagareli edited the text of the Song of Solomon.²⁴ The defects of the ms., which are reflected in the publication, were long ago pointed out by N. Marr.²⁵ I clearly recalled, however, that, while working over the photographs of the original codex in Petrograd, there was a large gap in the Octateuch, and this was confirmed by the statements of A. A. Tsagareli and A. S. Khakhanov. Upon examining the Tiflis copy (Cod. 471 of the Ecclesiastical Museum), it appeared that the whole text, with one small gap, was extant. The suspicion at once arose in my mind that the ms. had been supplemented from the Moscow edition (M). A comparison of selected passages, however, showed that they had nothing in common. While engaged in this task, I was much struck by the similarity between this section of the text and U, and further investigation established the following series of facts:

1. Cod. Eccl. Mus. 471 has been supplemented from another codex closely allied to U. Paper, ink, hand, and the numbers

²¹ This curious word is apparently connected with the root \sqrt{sv} , to be, nasci. In the lexicon of Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani, the word *sasumloba* is adduced without any citation, although the lexicographer speaks of Boaz and Ruth, and cites them as an example.

²² T'. Žordania, *Opisanie rukopisei*, etc., II, 35–41.

²³ This is the other copy made in the fifties. A short notice is contained in the catalogue of D. Kariačsvili, p. 15.

²⁴ A. A. Tsagareli, *Svedeniya*, etc., I, 1–25, 69–75.

²⁵ N. Marr, *Iz poezdki na Athon* (*Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščeniya*, May 1899, pp. 1 ff.).

of the pages differ from those of the main text. This supplement agrees exactly in extent and content with the statements of Tsagareli and Khakhanov regarding the gap in O. It extends from Leviticus 7, 4 to Judges 19, 26 = U₁.

2. A similar copy was made for the Dadiani ms., but in this instance it was not bound up together with the Athos text, but is separately listed under No. 397 of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians = U₂.

3. The text as presented by the two mss is practically identical. That they are copies of the same archetype is confirmed by the fact that in both of them there is a gap from Deuteronomy 4, 42 to 8, 4. In the margin is a note in the hand of the text (in both mss) calling attention to the lacuna. In No. 471 = U₁, the rest of the page is filled in by another hand (to Deuteronomy 5, 8), and in this part the text agrees neither with U nor with M. In ms. U the text of Deuteronomy 4, 42-8, 4 is extant (f. 99 (100), lines 27 ff.).

4. In those parts of U which were compared, no important differences between U₁ and U₂ were noted by me. I therefore inferred that in both we have copies of a ms. of this recension of possibly the eighteenth century.²⁶ This ms. was in existence in Georgia during the fifties of the nineteenth century, and was known to those persons who saw to having the copies made from O. One quaternion, however, was missing from the ms., and presumably the scholia also.

It now remains to say a few words regarding the other mss of the Pentateuch (or Octateuch). The following codices are extant to the writer's knowledge:

1. O Athos Ivērōn (a. 978). Gap in Octateuch from Leviticus 7, 4 to Judges 19, 26, and much of Genesis and Exodus also missing.²⁷

2. C Mtskhet' ms., now No. 51 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum (circa 1750: minor gaps here and there).²⁸

²⁶ The orthography is late, but this of course may be due to the modern scribe.

²⁷ Described by A. A. Tsagareli and A. S. Khakhanov, *op. cit.*

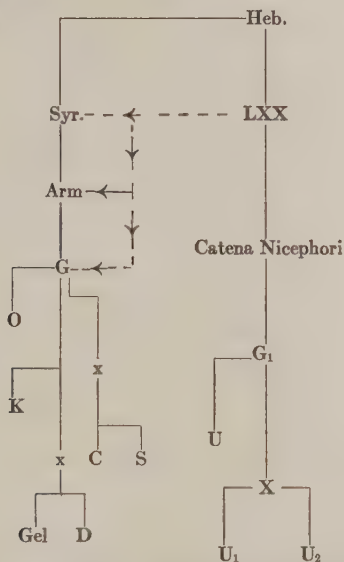
²⁸ Described by T'. Žordania, *Opisanie rukopisei*, etc., I, 40, 41.

3. Gel Gelat'i ms. No. 38 (s. XVII fin.). Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and part of Numbers.²⁹

4. D Cod. No. 1207 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVII fin.). Genesis to the middle of Deuteronomy.³¹

5. F Cod. No. 234 of the Ecclesiastical Museum (a. 1674).³⁰ Deuteronomy only.

6. S Cod. No. 885 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVIII med.). Part of Deuteronomy and Joshua to Ruth.³¹



Such preliminary investigation as the writer has made encourages the following tentative conclusions. If we exclude F from consideration, Gel and D seem to belong together in an

²⁹ According to Professor K. Kekelidze's manuscript catalogue of the Gelat'i codices which the author kindly allowed me to use. I myself examined the ms. in January 1920 and compiled a more detailed description.

³⁰ Described by T'. Žordania, *Opisanie*, etc., I, 259.

³¹ No published descriptions of these mss. In addition we have two leaves in capitals containing fragments of Numbers in the binding of ms. 104 of the Society for the Extension of Literacy. Though old (s. ix-x), the text is exceedingly corrupt. I hesitate to assign it a place in the stemma (K).

inferior class characterized by many corruptions and omissions, and ultimately quite closely allied to O. S seems to stand closer to C, but is very carelessly written, with many omissions. The variation is not very great among the different codices, nor are there any very evident instances of close connection; hence the table of relationship on the preceding page is largely hypothetical. All manuscripts of the above-mentioned group represent the same type of text.

We have one further witness to the Georgian Old Testament in the quotations which the Georgian lexicographer Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani (d. 1726) introduced in his dictionary. An investigation of his citations from the Old Testament, though as yet incomplete, indicates that the ms. he used was made up of sections of entirely different character. It seems to have included variant readings, apparently in the margin. The latter part of the Hagiographa was badly damaged in the archetype, which was also that of C for this particular section. In the prophets Sulkhan used chiefly the redaction which is preserved here in M = U, but to a minor extent a different version was also employed by him. In the Octateuch there are more variants, and Sulkhan seems to have had access to several mss. In any case, he quotes a large number of words which have not yet turned up in our extant codices.

We may now turn to a consideration of the text which U exhibits in the prophetic books. For purposes of comparison I copied the text of Zephaniah (Sop'onia), largely because that was the only book among the minor prophets which is preserved complete in the codex. A comparison of the text with M showed that the two are almost completely identical. The similarity goes so far that, if we leave out of account certain additions in U by a later hand, we cannot point to a single variant reading of even minor importance. The significance of the discovery of a manuscript text which agrees with the Moscow Bible is very considerable. No such ms. had previously been found. The history of this edition is fairly well known to us from the preface of Bakur Wakhtangovich and the colophon of the editors, the Georgian princes Wakhusht and Bakur. The

work of collecting the separate books of the Georgian Bible begun by King Arčil of Kakhet'ia was completed by Bakur. Arčil revised the parts of the Bible which he had got together, employing for this purpose the Slavic text alone, without taking account of the new Russian translation, which itself had been revised with use of the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Bulgarian Bibles. Hence Bakur had again to compare the Georgian text with that of the new Russian version. The Psalter, the Prophets, and the New Testament had already been revised and printed by King Wakhtang in his Tiflis printery. Bakur says in the colophon: "The rest we divided, according to the Russian translation, into chapters and verses. While altering certain expressions, we left unchanged the names of beasts of prey, animals, fishes, plants, nor did we alter proper names."³² Of this, of course, scholars had been aware. But we now are able to judge how great the actual alterations were which the eighteenth-century editors and scribes introduced. In Zephaniah they run as follows:

ZEPHANIAH

| Vs. | M (added in U) | U | LXX |
|-------|--|--------|---|
| 1, 5 | sakhelsa up'lisaysa in the name of the Lord | > | > ³³ |
| 1, 9 | γmrt'isay misa | > | θεοῦ αὐτῶν ³⁴ |
| 1, 17 | da dast'khios siskhli mat'i k'ueqanasa and he shall pour out their blood on the earth | > | καὶ ἐκχεεῖ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς χοῦν ³⁵ |
| 1, 19 | ceckhlit'a šurisa | šurisa | ἐν πυρὶ ζήλους ³⁶ |
| 2, 2 | dγisa mis gulis qromisa | > | ἡμέραν θυμοῦ ³⁷ |
| 3, 6 | amis t'üs for this | > | > ³⁸ |

³² This preface is generally lost from most copies of M, as is the case with the one in the author's possession. The above is taken from М. Г. Джанашивили, Описание рукописей церковнаго музея etc., III, Тифлиς, 1908, pp. 223, 224.

³³ ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου βασιλέως αὐτῶν Arm. ms. (Arm. ed. al. κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος).

³⁴ — 68, 91, 97, 153, 228, 310, Ald.

³⁵ Not omitted by any ms. cited by Holmes and Parsons; most codd. have ὡς χοῦν: eis χοῦν as here, 87, 91, 97, 153, 228, Ald.

³⁶ Not omitted by any mss.

³⁷ ἡμέραν ὀργῆς θυμοῦ Κυρίου 42, 68, 86, 87, 97, 147, 228.

³⁸ Epexegetical in Georgian.

| | | | |
|-------|--|---------------|---|
| 3, 8 | riskhvay čemi qoveli ve riskhvay gulis c̣qromisa čemisa | riskhvay čemi | πᾶσαν ὀργήν θυ- μοῦ μου ³⁹ |
| 3, 10 | šeičqnarne gant'esult'a šoris čemt'a | > | προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου ⁴⁰ |
| 3, 19 | aha egera | aha | ἰδοῦ |

The evidence afforded by the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons goes to show that in general these interpolations are of two types:

1. 1, 17; 1, 19 are evidently lapses on the part of the author (or scribe) of U, as there seems to be no ms. evidence for their absence.

2. 1, 9; 2, 2; 3, 8; 3, 10 are evidently interpolated from mss which are strongly under the influence of the Hexapla.

3. 1, 5. An explanation is not obvious.

With regard to the interpolations in U, the problem is much more complex than appears on the surface. The additions are of two types: (a) written in the margin only; (b) written in the margin and inserted in the text. The interpolations of category (b) are almost all included in the text of M. To test this point more fully, an investigation of the insertions in Isaiah was undertaken. It showed that for the most part they agree with Q^{mg}, i.e., with the Hexapla. The manner in which the interpolations have been marked (some being included and some not) shows that U was corrected from a source closely allied to Q^{mg}. The agreement between the Georgian and the Slavic, which is not infrequently evident in the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, is something which we should naturally expect on the basis of the statements of Bakur in the preface quoted above, and we should accordingly infer that this has arisen through correction from the Slavic. Two explanations suggest themselves: (1) U is corrected from the Slavic; (2) U is the ms. from which M was printed. That the second is true seems to me almost certain. Whether the first is correct, however, can only be decided after an investigation of the Slavic

³⁹ τὴν ὀργήν μου πᾶσαν ὀργήν θυμοῦ μου 22, 23, 36, 51, 68, 87, 95, 97, 130, 185, 225, 239, 310, 311.

⁴⁰ — XII, 26, 49, 106, 130, 153, 198, 233, 311 Origen, Euseb. Theodoret; in other mss sub*.

text, which is not accessible to me here. If the Slavic proves to be strongly tinged with Hexaplaric material, our first supposition will then probably be correct.⁴¹

In this part of the Old Testament the relation between the Athos ms. (O) and U is quite clear. Both texts have been subjected to Greek influence, but at different times and in a different manner. M = U presents a text whose archetype was a translation from the Armenian, which was worked over in the early scholastic period. It is a revision, and not a retranslation, such as we have in the Octateuch. U = M retains a number of Armenian words for which in O their native Georgian equivalents are substituted. O, in its turn, represents a revision of the same archetype in the spirit of the early Grecophile movement, much like the text of the apostolic writings in codd. 407 and 1138 (= Eccl. Mus. 345) of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians. Very closely akin to O, but a cousin rather than a sister ms., is the Jerusalem codex of the Prophets (= I).⁴² Both of these mss are presumably of Tao-Klardjet'ian origin. The variations between them and U are for the most part stylistic rather than recensional.

Some confirmation of the assertions made above regarding the relation between U and O I is desirable. First concerning words of Armenian origin:

ZEPHANIAH

| Vs. | UM | O | LXX |
|------|--|--|---|
| 1,12 | gamovidzio ieylmi bazmakit'a ⁴³ I shall seek out Jerusalem with a lamp | gamoikhilo ieylmi sant'lit'a I shall peer out Jerusalem with a lamp | ἐξερευνήσω τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ λύχνου |
| 2,6 | bak ⁴⁴ ckhovart'a | sadgur ckhovart'a | μάνδρα προβάτων |

⁴¹ Kekelidze declares that the Slavic Bible used by Wakhtang is the Moscow edition of 1663, which is presumably correct (K'art'uli literaturis istoria, Tiflis 1923, p. 461).

⁴² Described by A. A. Цагарели, Свѣдѣнія о памятникахъ грузиской письменности, выпускъ 2, Спб. 1888, pp. 1 ff. and by R. P. Blake, Catalogue des mss. géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 3 ser., t. IV (XXIII), pp. 26 and 30 ff. of reprint. The author now possesses a full set of photostat prints of this codex.

⁴³ Arm. Բազմակ.

⁴⁴ Arm. Բակ.

| | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| 2,11 qovelni čalakni ⁴⁵ carmart'- t'ani all the islands of the heathen | qovelni čabukni t'esleb- isani all the youths of the gentiles | πᾶσαι αἱ νῆσοι τῶν ἔθνων |
| 2,15 ese k'alak'i khenešay ⁴⁶ 3,1 this city evil | ese ars igi k'alak'i gank'arvebuli this is the city destroyed | αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἡ φανλιστρια |
| 3,4 šeabilčebden ⁴⁷ | šeaginebden | βεβηλοῦσιν |
| 3,6 ampartavanni ⁴⁸ | id. | ὑπερηφάνους |
| 3,11 sikhenešeni ⁴⁹ ginebisa šenisani the evils of thy pollution | sicrue ginebisa šenisa the falsehood of thy pollu- tion | τὰ φανλίσματα τῆς ὑβρεώς σου |

From the preceding list we observe that of the seven Armenian words found in UM, only one is retained in O.

To show the scholastic character of the language in UM, we may adduce the following examples:

ZEPHANIAH

| Vs. | UM | O | LXX |
|-----------------|---|---|---|
| 1,7 | mit' ramet'u et pass. therewith that | ramet'u that | διότι |
| 1,9 | qovelt'a zeda sačino- k'mnilt'a činabčeebt'a zeda on all the prominent (ἐμφανείς) on the outworks | qovelt'a zeda gan- ckhadebulad činaše bčet'a as in Greek | ἐπὶ πάντας (om. B) ἐμφανῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόπυλα |
| 1,12 | šeurackhis mqop'elta the despisers | romelni šeurackh hqop'ian who despise | τοὺς καταφρο- νούντας |
| 1,12 | uborotos denominal verb | ik'mnes up'alman arca boroti nor did the Lord evil (subj.) | κακώση |
| 1,13 | dasatacebelad to plunder | aγsačrel excise | εἰς διαρπαγὴν |
| 1,15 | učino sak'mnelad to make to disappear | gansarqunelad to destroy | ἀφανισμοῦ |
| (ditto 2, 4 15) | | | |

⁴⁵ Arm. ճալակ; čabukni of O is a corruption of νῆσοι into νεοί.

⁴⁶ Arm. քաղաք.

⁴⁷ Denominal verb from Arm. քանդել.

⁴⁸ Arm. արհամարհան.

⁴⁹ From Arm. անարգել.

| | | | |
|------|--|--|--|
| 2,2 | quavili t'ana čarmavali (t'ana = <i>παρά</i>) | quavili čarmavali | <i>παραπορευόμενον</i> |
| 2,5 | uckhotomt'ay | uckhot'ay | <i>ἀλλοφύλων</i> |
| 2,12 | čqluleb makhūlisa čemisa iqvnet' as in Greek | čqlulebit' <i>τραυματία</i> | <i>τραυματῖαι τῆς ρομφαίας μου ἐστέ</i> |
| 2,14 | sašual | šoris | <i>ἐν μέσῳ</i> |
| 2,15 | metqueyli participle | ramet'u itqoda | <i>λέγουσα</i> |
| 3,5 | ramet'u up'ali mart'ali sašual missa for the just Lord is among her | kholo up'ali nat'el da samart'ali misi but the Lord (is) bright and his justice | <i>ὁ δὲ Κύριος δίκαιος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς</i> |
| 3,8 | dγedmi -mi = <i>εἰς</i> | dγed | <i>εἰς ἡμέραν</i> |
| 3,9 | khdad qovelt'a sakheli up'lisay infinitive | rayt'a khadodian qovelni sakhelsa up'lisasa final clause | <i>τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου</i> |
| 3,10 | et'iopiasat'a from Ethiopia | hindoet'isayt' from India | <i>Αἰθιοπίας</i> |
| 3,11 | ara sirekhūleul ik'mne | ara grckhunes | <i>οὐ μὴ καταισχυ- θῆς</i> |
| 3,11 | did mok'adulad as in Greek | maγlovad to exalt | <i>μεγαλαυχῆσαι</i> |
| 3,14 | dznobdin qovlit' gamo gulit' šenit' as in Greek | ganckhrebone qovlit'a gulit'a šenit'a with thy whole heart | <i>κατατέρπον ἐξ ὅ- λης τῆς καρδίας σου</i> |

A few words will now be in place concerning the commentary on the Prophets in U. As I pointed out above, scholia are only occasionally found in this part of the codex:

1. On Ezekiel 1, 4: explanation of the cloud and of the animals (in the margin).

2. On Jeremiah 18, 18: quotation from Olympiodorus in red; below a scholion from Chrysostom.

3. On Jeremiah 50, 30: scholion in red ink on the margin.

4. At the head of all the Minor Prophets where the text is preserved we find the prooemia of Theodoret of Cyrrhos, while at the end come short biographical notes derived from pseudo-Epiphanius.⁵⁰ The general character of the language in these

⁵⁰ These are of the recensio scholiis Hesychii aliorumque patrum in prophetas addita ap. Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* etc. Lips. 1907, pp. 102.26-103.4. These are associated with the vitae of Theodoret in a Laurentian ms.; cf. Schermann, l. c., pp. xxxi-xxxii.

scholia is quite in harmony with that of the catena on the Octateuch.

Who is the author of this version? We have discovered the following characteristic attributes of his work: (1) Armenisms are retained; (2) the language is scholastic in character, but not extremely so; (3) scholia are present which make use of the works of Theodoret. These three things taken together make it highly probable that the reviser of the text is none other than Ephrem Mcire. The work is a revision rather than a retranslation after the manner of this writer. Ephrem tended to keep Armenian words in his text and was himself acquainted with the language. E. S. T'aqaišvili⁵¹ quotes in translation a scholion of Ephrem on the 'Οδηγός of John of Damascus, in which Ephrem declares that the word *lek'si* is impossible to translate into Georgian, but in Armenian it is *Դերական k'erakan*, 'grammar.' In addition to the above P. A. Ingoroqva has pointed out the curious fact that in Ephrem's version of the homily of Gregory Nazianzen against the Arians and Eunomians, which is a revision of the translation from the Armenian by the hand of Gregory of Oška (Oškeli),⁵² the one clear Armenian word in the latter's text *urakparaki* (= Arm. *Հրապարակ* 'square, place'), is retained by Ephrem.⁵³

All these considerations tend to make us believe that in the versions of the Prophets which we have under consideration, we have a work of the brilliant Georgian scholar who labored so unremittingly to enrich his native literature; but a definite answer can be obtained only after all the available materials have carefully been worked through and much that is still lying idle in manuscripts has been made accessible.

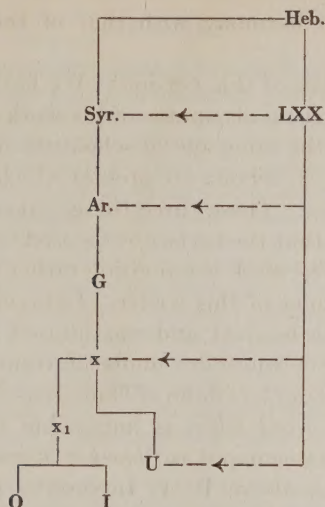
As regards the Prophets, the position of our manuscript in the general scheme of the textual tradition of the Old Testament in Georgian is very tentatively indicated by means of the stemma on the next page.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Описание рукописей Общества Распространения Грамотности etc., 1, 720, Tiflis, 1902.

⁵² MS. Eccl. Mus. 87 (s. XI), pp. 771 ff.

⁵³ Grigol Oškeli, in a paper read before the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography, December 15, 1918.

⁵⁴ The ultimate relationship of this version with the Syriac and the Armenian I hope to deal with elsewhere.



The results of the foregoing discussion may be provisionally formulated in the following propositions:

1. The manuscript tradition of different parts of the Georgian Old Testament is not uniform. The original translations and later revisions were made at different times and from varying archetypes.

2. The relation of M to the Armenian texts, in the Prophets at least, is much closer than has previously been supposed. M is here presumably a revision of a direct translation from the Armenian.

3. A new and independent version of the larger part of the Octateuch, made from the Greek, with important scholia, has been brought to light. Although this text is useless for the task of reconstituting the oldest Georgian version, it is none the less of great importance for the history of Georgian literature.

4. We are now able to fix a considerable portion of the text of M in a definite period and to give it an objective valuation.

APPENDIX

The history of the manuscript U is as follows: The deceased Georgian scholar, Th. D. Žordania (ob. 1916), declares in the second volume of his *Chronicles*⁵⁵ that in the church built alongside the ruins of the cathedral of Bagrat III at Kutais, he had found among other remarkable manuscripts a large codex in folio, mutilated at the beginning and at the end, with forty lines to the page in *khutsuri nuska* (ecclesiastical minuscule script) of the twelfth century. The codex had suffered much from damp. It contained Genesis⁵⁶ or the Old Testament together with a commentary. The middle of the page is occupied by the Old Testament text, written in a bold hand. On the broad margins around this are written explanations and scholia on the text in the middle, often in the form of question and answer. The words and phrases explained are marked in red with Georgian capital letters (e.g., A, B, P, etc.), while the scholia are headed by the author's name. Žordania then gives a list of Fathers quoted in the scholia, some of whose names he misspells, while others never existed. In emphasizing the value of the scholia, Žordania incidentally remarks that in his opinion they were composed by the Georgian author himself, and were drawn from the original works of the Greek authors. This in his opinion is proved by the fact that each commentator is quoted separately. He further observes that the new find is even more important for Georgian scholars, since it permits the reconstruction of the text of the Old Testament by following out the work of George the Athonite and of King Wakhtang and his assistants. "Unfortunately," he continues, "the Old Testament found by us is incomplete both at the beginning and the end, but this defect is supplied to a considerable extent by another manuscript⁵⁷ of the Old Testament with scholia of the same type which we found in the same church. Although the latter is much damaged, (still) the two supplement each other." Žordania goes on to say that he had found yet another manuscript of the Old Testament written in the 'warrior hand' (*mkhedruli*) of the sixteenth century in the cathedral at T'elav (in Kakhet'ia).⁵⁸ Four quaternions or thirty-two

⁵⁵ T'. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da skhva masalebi sak'art'velos istoriisat'vis*, c. II, tp'iliss, 1897 c., pp. 36-39.

⁵⁶ Dabadeba is literally Genesis, but is used in modern Georgian per synecdochen for the whole of the Old Testament, in place of *dzveli art'k'ma*.

⁵⁷ It is unknown what manuscript Ž. had in mind here. At first it seemed probable to me that he referred to Cod. 570 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum, in which we have a few scholia, or rather hexaplaric readings from Aquila and Symmachus, which have been collected and published by M. Djanashvili in *Nashromi* 3, 37 ff. (Tiflis 1910), together with a short description of the ms. The expression *amgvariani*, 'of this type,' however, does not suit that ms., and I now think that we have not yet laid hands upon this second codex. It may be among the papers of Žordania. See above, p. 271.

⁵⁸ In this instance we have undoubtedly to do with Cod. 646 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum. This codex is described in some detail, but with many errors and inaccuracies, by Žordania in his *Описание рукописей Тифлисскаго Церковнаго Музея карталино-кахетинскаго Духовенства II*, Тифлисъ 1902 г., pp. 129-131, and also by M. Djanashvili, op. cit., pp. 38 ff. Only 10 or 12 folia are lost at the beginning, however.

pages are missing from it at the beginning; quaternions 5 to 69 are preserved, forming 520 folia or 1040 pages.

Žordania then returns to his description of the first ms. The codex commences with Leviticus 14, and this is followed by Numbers, the opening words of which he quotes. He likewise quotes an adscription (memorial) mentioning a certain *kat'alikozi Eustratios*, who is unknown to us from other sources.⁵⁹ He then adduces two passages which refer to *kimena* (i.e., *τὰ κείμενα*),⁶⁰ as e.g., f. 79 v. in red ink on the margin, which he most amusingly takes to be the name of a translator whom he dates in the fifth or sixth century A.D. He further notes that the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges are extant, and of all of these he quotes the first lines; Ruth is also present. At the end he adds: "After this (book) much is wanting, the leaves are disarranged and much self-sacrificing work will be necessary to bring them into the proper order." Ezekiel and some of the other prophets are also extant: "It is likewise noteworthy that certain books were divided both into chapters and into verses in the seventeenth-eighteenth century, and were numbered throughout with Arabic numerals. Here and there traces are to be found that in recent times (s. XVIII) the ancient text had been corrected by (the) new Old Testament (*dabadeba*)."⁶¹

⁵⁹ F. 98 v; in a different ink from that of the body of the text and by a later hand.

⁶⁰ See on this K. S. Kekelidze, *Иоаннъ Ксифилинъ, продолжатель Симеона Метафраста, Христіанскій Востокъ I* (1912), pp. 332 f., and *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, I, Keimena* (Tiflis 1918), p. x.

⁶¹ T'. Žordania, *K'ronikebi, II*, pp. 37, 38.

